Cultural studies on Folk Religion in Scandinavia

To my wife Kristina

Cultural Studies on Folk Religion in Scandinavia

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Front cover
Carl Gustaf Bernhardson's grandmother reads the morning prayers from her prayer book to her grandchildren seated on the sofa. Painting privately owned. Photo: Bodil Nelson.

Back cover
The singing Åstol brothers have released CDs of religious songs, including Revival Songs from Åstol. Photo: Björn Edlund, 1980.

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Contents

Introduction

Popular religiosity has been one of the fields of research with which I have been concerned since the 1970s. My first effort was my doctoral thesis in 1972 on the churching of women after childbirth in Sweden. Later I have also studied church customs in connection with weddings, deaths and burials. In 1982, a "Centre for Research in the Ethnology of Religion" was established and of which I became the first director. I was the leader for the group of Swedish scholars active in the interdisciplinary Scandinavian "Kattegat-Skagerrak Project" operative during the 1980s. One object of our research was a clarification of religiosity among the many religious revival movements in the coastal regions along the straits of Kattegat and Skagerrak. I was in charge of the field work whose results were published, in the three Scandinavian languages (Danish, Norwegian and Swedish), in the series "Kattegat-Skagerrak Prosjektet Meddelelser" (nos. 1, 4, 11 and 15, 1982-1987) (see chapters 6-9).

Within the international organization "Society International of Ethnology and Folklore", abbreviated SIEF, a commission was established in 1990 for the study of Folk Religion. I was chosen as its first president and continued in this office during the whole of the 1990s. The commission has arranged conferences at intervals of about three years since 1993. I have participated continually by presenting papers based on effected archival and fieldwork studies (see chapter 2 1993, chapter 5 1996, chapter 4 2006, chapter 3 2010).

During the 1990s I took part in a Scandinavian research project named "Cultural Encounters on the Borders". The focus of the project was border relations during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in the area around the southernmost area of the Norwegian-Swedish border. I studied religious contacts over this national border (see chapter 5).

Since 1999 a network of Nordic researchers and research on revivals and revival culture has been operative under the name of NORDVECK. Conferences on different themes have taken place every second year since 2001. Here I have presented a number of papers (among them chapter 3 in 2009). With one exception in English, all the publications issued by this network have been published in the Scandinavian languages.

My research on popular religiosity has for the most part been published in Swedish, with only shorter versions printed in the journals and anthologies published in connection with SIEF conferences on folk religion. After having conferred with international colleagues I have now collected the various partial results of my research

in a separate publication in English. This has been done in order to provide an international circle of readers with a single volume covering the research I have conducted with different themes and within different research projects. Ample illustrations, in both black-and-white and colour, have been provided by archives, but a great number have also been taken from the fieldwork material that I have collected over the years together with other scholars and students.

The present volume opens with a chapter on folk religion as a field of cultural research in Scandinavia. The emphasis in this publication is for the most part on Sweden. A major portion of the research has been concerned with conditions in the coastal province of Bohuslän in western Sweden, with glimpses of neighbouring areas in Norway. Following the introductory chapter, a study is presented showing the various forms of expression taken by folk religion in the daily life of past times, with stress on the early 1900s all over Sweden. Using a diary and letters written by a farmer living in the 1800s, I have been able to study how folk religion functioned on the local level (chapter 3). The issue of how the human senses make themselves felt in popular religiosity is the subject of a separate chapter (chapter 4). In Sweden, and not least in Bohuslän, free churches and intra-church revival movements, such as Schartauanism and the Evangelical National Missionary Society (EFS), have played an important role since the late 1800s. I have therefore studied different aspects of such movements in some of the chapters. This relates to periods of revivals (chapter 6), the connections between different generations (chapter 6 and 10), the construction and control of norms (chapter 6 and 9), connections to other local revival movements (chapter 6 and 7), and also to the surrounding secular society (chapter 6, 7 and 10). Religious contacts over the national border between Norway and Sweden (chapter 5) and attitudes towards older popular conceptions about supernatural spirits (chapter 8) have also been subjects of research. The most intensive study has focused on the many different aspects of the Pentecostal Movement on the island of Åstol in Bohuslän, where it was possible to follow a process leading over a great length of time from existence as a local minority to that of being a cultural majority and its effects on the local society (chapter 6).

Summaries have been placed at the end of every chapter. The different chapters can be read separately, but access to the entirety and the comparisons will be best when all chapters are read in sequence. References to sources and literature have been placed at the end of every chapter.

Translation: Jean Aase

1
Folk Religion as a Field of Research

Areas of Investigation

People's beliefs, whether they fall within the teachings of the church or not, have a place in folk religion. This is true irrespective of whether people believe in and put their trust in divine beings, or relate to evil entities like the devil or other supernatural beings. Popular visions as well as experiences of miracles and religious healing are included in the field of study (cf. Selberg 2011). It is not relevant when discussing folk religiosity to separate popular belief from other kinds of belief that would be labeled religious belief (cf. Velure 1983). Whatever people believe in must be possible of being viewed as belonging to the field of folk religion, even though earlier folkloristic researchers often separated the religious dimension from popular belief. The latter was seen as being part of the folkloristic field of study, while religious belief was placed within the realm of religious studies. Folklorists were not supposed to concern themselves with folk religion, but a shift in this respect came about when a new generation of folklorists began establishing themselves during the 1970s. In Oslo these changes were initiated by Bjarne Hodne (cf. Amundsen 2004).

Studies of folk religion comprise all social classes – peasant, middle class and workers. Religion is evident both in ordinary people and in members of revival movements and in immigrants belonging to a religion other than Christianity. Folk religion, in the form of specific conduct and rituals, is not exercised only in public places of worship like churches and chapels, but also to a large extent in homes, both in the everyday life and on Sundays and other holidays, during what we now call leisure time. Studies of folk religion have focused in several contexts on customs and beliefs linked to annual festivals as well as to life cycle celebrations, and also to the existence hereafter.

Investigations of folk religion do not only focus on the pre-industrial era when Christianity had a stronger position, but also on religiously oriented beliefs and customs among people in our rather secularized modern society. The New Age and Satanism of our day (Alver 1993) become interesting objects of study. The labels "anonymous religiosity", "private religiosity" and "unorganized religiosity" have appeared with references to discussions within the sociology of religion (Eriksen 1990, Alver et al 1999, Selberg 2011).

The development of research in the ethnology of religion

The first Swedish scholar to recognize the importance of studying folk religion on a level with the religion officially regulated within the state church, was Hilding Pleijel (1893-1988), professor of Church History. In 1942, he founded the Archive of Church History in Lund. He focused on early religious folk life. He himself grew up as the son of a rector in the county of Småland, a district characterized by old church beliefs. He sent out students of church history who used a questionnaire "Religious folk life research" to note down the memories of elderly people. The questionnaire comprised pious life in everyday living as well as at festivals, at home as well as in church. About 5 600 records were collected up until the mid 1960s (Gustavsson 1975, 1976).

Pleijel was retired when I arrived in Lund as a student in 1962, but he was an active researcher for nearly the whole period until his death in 1988. He showed great interest in inspiring younger researchers. One of them, Nils-Arvid Bringéus, later became his most prominent follower within the ethnology of religion, as was the name of the new branch of research, and he was my teacher and tutor while professor of Ethnology in Lund 1967-1991. He has thoroughly clarified Pleijel's questionnaire from 1942 in the book published to commemorate the centennial of Pleijel's birth in 1893 (*Hilding Pleijel Symposium* 1995). Both Pleijel's and Bringéus's research have been presented in all respects in the book *Folk piety* published by Bringéus in 1997, with a revised edition published in 2005 (Bringéus 1997, 2005).

As a consequence of the change around 1970 of the term "folk life research" to "ethnology", which in Sweden also includes folkloristics, the name "religious folk life research" came to be changed to "ethnology of religion". Clear evidence of the interest shown by the University of Lund in this branch of research consisted in the foundation of a "Centre for Research in the Ethnology of Religion" in 1982. Its resources came from those research funds established by Pleijel and paid for from his own means. A publication series was established under the name "Writings published by the Centre for Research in the Ethnology of Religion in Lund". The first issue in the series covered religious revival movements in the Nordic countries and took its approach from lectures held at a symposium in Lund in 1984 (*Religiösa väckelserörelser*, Religious revival movements, 1985). The second issue dealt with student investigations of religious movements under my tutorship in Lund. These studies were concerned with the early twentieth century as well as the present day. A major topic here was not only the study of the inner life of the religious movements but also their relations with the surrounding society, locally and on a macro level, as this was expressed in the media through TV-programs (*Religiösa rörelser*, Religious movements, 1988). The main concept was that religion cannot be seen in isolation but

rather in relation to what takes place in its surroundings on both the macro level and in the local environment. After I became professor of Ethnology in Uppsala in 1987, Curt Dahlgren from sociology of religion was made responsible for the Archive of Church History in Lund.

The development in Oslo

The efforts of Hilding Pleijel have also had repercussions outside the borders of Sweden. In Finland this is especially noticeable at the Academy of Åbo but is also true of the University of Helsinki. At the Academy of Åbo a collection of reports was started in 1945 based on an adapted version of Pleijel's questionnaire from 1942. A church historical archive was also founded (Widén 1995).

The study of folk religion in the Nordic countries has otherwise achieved a particularly strong position among folklorists in Oslo. Arne Bugge Amundsen stated in 1995 about this development:

> The change in orientation and choice of themes in folkloristics at the University of Oslo since the 1970s is in reality rather remarkable. The academic circle I am referring to here is fairly small. The fact that every representative of this circle during the past 15-20 years has given great energy to the examination of popular religious traditions, may, therefore, be seen as nothing less than a revolution (Amundsen 1995b: 9f).

An early example of this "revolution" was Bjarne Hodne's book in 1980 on popular beliefs concerning death and the dead in the early Norwegian peasant society. "Through considering customs as carriers of norms and values, I have wanted to present this society's view of death" (B. Hodne 1980: 7). The importance of Hilding Pleijel in Norway was emphasized by Arne Bugge Amundsen in 1993 at the celebration of the centennial of the birth of Pleijel. He pointed out that:

> I have, for my part, for nearly 15 years counted Pleijel's research program as an important part of my own motivation for working with inquiries into religious beliefs and religious culture in past times (Amundsen 1995b: 93).

"The Archive of Church Historical Traditions" in Oslo was opened in 1989 under the leadership of Knut Aukrust. Its goal was to "collect and deal with material that elucidates religious life in Norway in past and present times". The archive was associated with the Institute of Cultural Studies and also co-operated with the Theological faculty concerning projects. This is shown for example in the project "Sisters of the Order in Norway" in which life-course interviews with Norwegian Roman Catholic

nuns were carried out (Aukrust & Nilsen 1996). Another joint project with theology examined the history of clericalism in Norway during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries (e.g. Aukrust & Furre 1997). This relates to the subject of Knut Aukrust's doctoral thesis in 1990, which was published in the first issue of the series "Publications from the Archive of Church Historical Traditions" (Aukrust 1990, 2001).

Arne Bugge Amundsen has shown great interest in the relationships and antagonisms between the clerical elite culture and religious popular belief and practice in earlier days. This may be exemplified with the views on baptism during the nineteenth century, which Bugge Amundsen investigated in his doctoral thesis in 1987 (Amundsen 1989). Inspired by the enlightenment, belief in common sense and optimism for the future, the clergy at around the year 1800 strongly opposed popular beliefs concerning miracles and wonders. They wanted people to adjust to a new and modern era. Peasant society persisted, however, in its beliefs in miracles.

> The reactionary faith in miracles becomes almost identical to all folk religion in the rhetoric of common sense, and to most of the common religious forms on the whole (Amundsen 1997: 150).

Within the so called "Østfold project" and "Kattegat-Skagerrak project" Bugge Amundsen has also concentrated on analyses of the religious revival movements that arose in Østfold county in the nineteenth century (Amundsen 1987), and by means of local investigations, he has followed their development during the twentieth century especially in the interwar period (Amundsen 1992b, 1995a). Life style norms and how these were memorized and applied in everyday life have also composed significant fields of study. Opposition from the religious elite was evident also in regard to the revival movements, at least initially. During the twentieth century the competition from new urban life styles emerged. "'This world', with which the pious youth should not interact, had to a large extent 'the evil Urban' traits" (Amundsen 1995a: 77, cf. Amundsen 2004).

In a research project carried out in the 2000s, Bugge Amundsen has studied how folk culture in Scandinavia has reacted to conceptions of faith relating to angels and demons. Another project studies religious faith and praxis in the Danish-Norwegian state starting in the 1500s and continuing on until the dissolution of this state in 1814. Bugge Amundsen has also been active within the Nordic network NORDVECK with concentration on studies of religious revivals and revival culture. In 2007 he edited the publication *Revival and Communication* with papers presented on a conference held in Norway in 2003 (*Revival* 2007).

As I was writing my doctoral thesis in Lund at the beginning of the 1970s about the churching of women (cf. below), Ann Helene Bolstad Skjelbred simultaneously worked on her masters degree in Oslo on a similar theme in Norwegian folkloristics.

This project resulted in the book *Unclean and heathen: The birth giver in Norwegian folk tradition* (Bolstad Skjelbred 1972). I was later the first critic when she presented her doctoral thesis in Bergen about festivals and days of rest in Norway in the years 1870-1970 (Bolstad Skjelbred 1982). Here she dealt with a research area which Nordic folklorists thus far had given very little attention (Gustavsson 1982b). The author's goal was to present the attitudes towards the days of rest and how these had changed over time, through a study of behaviour and the formation of norms. This was, incidentally, the first dissertation presented in folkloristics in Bergen.

Later during the 1980s Bolstad Skjelbred investigated the civil confirmation in Norway compared to the sacred, and focused on discussions about rituals and rites de passage (Bolstad Skjelbred 1988). During the 1990s she took an interest in conceptual discussions about religious faith, ecclesiastical faith and popular faith. Her approach was based on folkloristic material from the folklore archives (Bolstad Skjelbred 1995, 1996). In 1994 she published a book together with Bente Alver about present day rituals and beliefs in Norway connected with the end of life. The two authors wrote that:

> Using the rituals performed by people, the signs they take, the symbols they use, we show how they view death and dying. We do this by means of people's own experiences and narratives (Alver & Bolstad Skjelbred 1994: 7).

During the 2000s, Bolstad Skjelbred has studied a new custom of the placement in churches of prayer cards, or slips of paper, on which hopes of intercession have been written. In Norway this relates especially to the old pilgrimage church, Nidaros Cathedral in Trondheim, where the custom was introduced in 1997. Family members and close friends are the objects of these hopes of intercession. Prayers about health are a very widespread topic (Bolstad Skjelbred 2007: 185ff).

Birgit Hertzberg Johnsen published a popular scientific book in 1985 about confirmation in Norway. One highly interesting feature of the book is her attempt to shed light on the experiences undergone by the confirmands in connection with this festival in former days (Johnsen 1985). She later made a special study of this theme and in 1993 presented a doctoral thesis about confirmation such as it is reproduced in folklore material and life-course stories. Her main goal was to clarify "the confirmand's point of view", i.e. give an inside perspective (Johnsen 1993: 6). The material was subjected to both qualitative and quantitative treatment (Johnsen 1994). In this the author was then able to employ computer technology.

During the 2000s Hertzberg Johnsen (now Hertzberg Kaare) has taken part in the international research project "Mediated Stories. Mediation perspectives on digital storytelling among youth" (Lundby 2008) and, together with the sociologist of religion Knut Lundby, conducted a study on digital storytelling relating to faith and re-

ligious tradition. This project has focused on youth, as young people tend to be innovative in their use of digital media (e.g. Hertzberg Kaare 2008).

In 1990, an issue of the Nordic journal NordNytt focused on the theme "Folk Religion" and was edited in Oslo by Anne Eriksen among others (*NordNytt* no 40 1990). She has discussed the concept "folk religion" and its use, in modern, industrialized society. The influences originate in religious sociology also (Eriksen 1993). In her master thesis from 1986 she looked at votive churches that have existed in Norway from 1650 until 1900. In these churches it was thought that one might be able to experience cures for illnesses. Eriksen argued against a former opinion that these churches had a continuous tradition which dated back to the Middle Ages. Instead, she emphasized the changes that have occurred over time and the development of the tradition around these votive churches (Eriksen 1995).

In her doctoral thesis in 1992, Eriksen shed light on the issue of religiosity in Norway during the first half of the twentieth century. She wanted to convince her readers that workers possessed some form of "religiosity" even though this might not have been exactly consistent with the ideology, norm systems or view on religious life of the official state church or the free churches. The concepts "anonymous", "invisible" and "silent" religiosity was constructive to this discussion (Eriksen 1992). As the first critic, I had the opportunity of initiating a critical discussion around the concepts "religion" and "religiosity". In this I prefer to use the term "view of life" instead of "religion", when there are no references to the existence of or relation to a supernatural invisible world and no otherworldly perspective (Gustavsson 1992).

A later project led by Anne Eriksen and the historian of religion Anne Stensvold is an extensive study of nineteenth-century Roman Catholic traditions of sainthood. These scholars have shown how the renewed and intensified Marian veneration became one of the most distinctive features of nineteenth-century Catholic ideas of piety (Eriksen & Stensvold 2002).

The celebratory publication dedicated to the Oslo folklorist Ørnulf Hodne in 1995, bears the subtitle "Studies in popular belief and folk religiosity". As the editors Arne Bugge Amundsen and Anne Eriksen wrote in the preface:

> We have chosen a topic from Ørnulf Hodne's great field of work: "folk religiosity" the breaking point between the popular world of conceptions and church tradition, as the topic for this celebratory publication. Thereby we have wanted to emphasize that Hodne has been an important source of inspiration and a guide in this area also, which for several years has held a central position in the folkloristic community at the University of Oslo (*Saet ikke vantro* 1995: 6).

Ørnulf Hodne has studied the customs, beliefs and traditions at life cycle celebrations as well as at annual festivals, particularly in times long past, but also by means

of examples from our own time. These have included the custom of godparents at christenings (Ø Hodne 1979), confirmation (Ø Hodne 1980), weddings (B Hodne et al 1985), and Easter celebrations (Ø Hodne 1988, 2006). Within a larger research project on "Leisure time and ideology", he has, among other things, investigated the strategies of the church and the clergy in a new competitive situation concerning people's use of leisure time in the interwar period. The aim has been to "show how the Norwegian church responded to the demands from the new leisure time society and the social political ideas that contributed to the development of it" (Ø Hodne 1993: 5). Ørnulf Hodne found that:

> The Norwegian church in the interwar period forcefully joined the ideological struggle for people's leisure time, and, through their children's and youth organizations, filled it with a content that was adjusted to the new leisure culture in the society (Ø Hodne 1993: 215).

To summarize the folkloristic research in Oslo one can see that themes relating to the annual and life cycle celebrations in past and present time have been common (e.g. Bolstad Skjelbred 1988, Johnsen 1988). Several Oslo folklorists raised the issue of rituals around death in our time, in consequence of the death of King Olav V. in 1991, and studied them in a historical perspective (e.g. Amundsen 1992a, Aukrust 1992, cf. Alver & Bolstad Skjelbred 1994, *Døden* 1994, Gustavsson 2011). In 2012 the Faculty of Humanities, University of Oslo decided to announce a new appointment in Cultural History with speciality in Folk Religion.

The study of regressions

The study of how older religious cultural phenomena lived on, but also disappeared, interested both Pleijel and Bringéus when I started my graduate studies at the end of the 1960s. It became natural for me to try to expand this branch of research, through concentrating on that which in research contexts has been known as "regression". My first investigation concerned the custom of drinking a toast in wine to the memory of the deceased at the funeral. The prototypes of this custom have roots in the pre-Christian era in the Nordic countries, and have survived far into the twentieth century in western Sweden in communities marked by revivalism within the church (Gustavsson 1973). The existence of or absence of this custom could be traced in all the communities in Sweden thanks to the questionnaires about contemporary religious customs that were issued to the clergy every sixth year from the mid 1940s and onwards. The researcher then was able to send a more detailed and specialized questionnaire to those congregations where the custom occurred at the time of the

investigation. At that point questions could be raised about the frequency, the attitude of the clergyman and his actions in maintaining the custom. The custom had been investigated and mapped out on the level of the congregation, but the members' attitudes had not yet been investigated. No interviews were carried out in the study of memorial toasting.

The roughly 5 600 records that had been collected following Hilding Pleijel's questionnaire from 1942 (cf. above), formed the basis of the material for my dissertation in Lund in 1972 with the title *Kyrktagningsseden i Sverige* (The custom of churching in Sweden) (Gustavsson 1972). This ancient custom, existing since the primeval church and the middle ages, and requiring that women should be reinitiated into the community of the congregation through a specific ritual after bearing children, disappeared as a common practice in Sweden as well as in Norway at the end of the nineteenth century. However, it survived longer in some parishes that have been characterized by revivalism within the state church. This is true for e.g. the western parts of Sweden in the diocese of Gothenburg, which includes the earlier Norwegian county of Bohuslän, where my family and I originate.

One aim of the regression studies was to follow the successive course of the retrogression on the level of time and space over the whole of Sweden, i.e. on the macro level. Mapping, following the diffusionist tradition initiated by the ethnologist Sigurd Erixon during the 1920s and 1930s, constituted a useful method. The investigations of the course of regression were meant to be a basis for an analysis of both those mechanisms that had forwarded the regression and those that had delayed it. It was also important to explain the social side of the changes and tie the investigations to individuals. The role of the family in the processes of dissolution as well as the opinions of the individuals themselves assumed great interest, such as, for example what the child-bearers themselves thought about the custom of churching. I interviewed some women who had followed the custom during the 1960s. The macro studies were combined with thorough local investigations. The registers of births and christenings in the church archives conveyed information about those women who had been churched and those who had chosen not to. The quantitative studies could be combined with qualitative interviews with the child-bearers, where the researcher received information about views and motivations.

The study of religious revival movements

As the administrator for the newly established research centre in Lund in 1982 (see above) I considered it important to investigate different religious revival movements in various parts of the Nordic countries. Within the "Kattegat-Skagerrak project" es-

tablished in 1981, which focused on coastal environments in the north of Jylland, the west of Sweden and the south of Norway, an interdisciplinary research group from Denmark, Norway and Sweden carried out a thorough field study in 1982 in Norwegian Søgne, west of Kristiansand. The theme was to give insight into the religiosity of the members of the many revival movements existing in the local community. Studies of archive material belonging to the religious movements were combined with interviews with both leaders and ordinary members. At the homes of informants I found letters, photographs and diaries. The letters concerned, among other things, the regular contacts with traveling preachers. The diaries gave insights not only into the members' experiences of conversions but also into the practices in daily life and at religious meetings.

I concentrated on a religious minority called "the Free Friends" (see chapter 7) that is similar to the Pentecostal movement, and which had low social status in its surroundings. I had interest in shedding light on what a minority position in the local environment signified for the self-esteem of the movement and for its outward activities and contacts.

Using protocols from the latter part of the nineteenth century as source material, the Danish historian Vagn Wåhlin from Århus looked at the revival movements' views on alcohol habits, dancing, and nightly courtship visits, all of which had been ways of conduct existing in the surrounding society before the revivals. A dissociation from their side became noticeable through the norms that developed. The style of life came to change markedly.

> Only tobacco – the least of the sins on the temperance members' list – was not successfully mastered in the valleys and plains along the coastal area of Sørlandet. But the lesser sins, such as drinking, dancing, nightly courtship visits etc., had a weak position around the year 1900. Former unsuitable behavior such as prostitution, drinking, dancing and similar activities at local feasts had almost disappeared in Søgne by 1900 (Wåhlin 1982: 40f).

In 1983, the research group carried out additional field work on the island of Tjörn in Bohuslän which, as was the case in Søgne, is characterized by the presence of several different religious movements that have developed since the latter part of the nineteenth century. I was interested in studying how older popular beliefs during the pre-industrial era, that is the faith in various supernatural beings as gnomes, trolls, and specters, were influenced by the developing religious movements (see chapter 8). The task of greatest interest was to examine how these people integrated their old popular belief in supernatural beings into their religious world view after their conversion.

The field work on the island of Tjörn was conducted in a similar way to that in Søgne, and it gave an opportunity of comparing the processes that had taken place in similar maritime environments, as well as of studying religious contacts across the sea. The Norwegian historian Bjørn Slettan, who in the "Kattegat-Skagerrak project" concentrated on religious revivals in Vest-Agder and Aust-Agder Counties during the nineteenth century, found a certain influence between the countries due to traveling preachers and the spread of literature at this time:

> Both Swedes and Danes brought religious messages to Norway's south coast, while Norwegians traveled to the neighboring countries on the same mission. They also took part in spreading literature, writings and songs. ... Inter-Nordic contacts were probably managed to a larger extent by means of written messages rather than through personal visits (Slettan 1992: 195).

In my own investigations I have found that from the end of the nineteenth century, more personal contacts developed across the seas. The important deep-sea fishing far from home reached substantial heights at this time. Contacts were transmitted by fishermen who docked at other ports on their journeys to and from the fishing-grounds, where they often attended religious meetings (see chapter 5). The men who regularly visited coastal communities other than their own, obtained other frames of reference in this way and often became more tolerant concerning religious issues than the native-born, and more stationary women.

Cultural encounters between Swedes and Norwegians have not only taken place across the sea, but also around the land border between Norway and Sweden. These encounters constituted the object of research within the Norwegian-Swedish project "The Cultural Meetings of the Border", which refers to the most southern part of the border between Sweden and Norway (see chapter 5).

Numerous Swedish guest workers who settled in Østfold county cities, such as the industrial towns of Fredrikstad and Sarpsborg, became members of free churches (Amundsen 1995d). I was able to verify this during field work in 1998, by studying the membership registrations in the Methodist congregation in Fredrikstad that was founded in 1856 (cf. Amundsen 1987, 1993). During the period 1870-1917 there were 58 immigrants. Some came from Swedish border areas and others from places in Sweden located farther away from the border. In some few cases they had been members of the Methodist church in Sweden, but most of them had not. They had instead often belonged to the "Lutheran Church of Sweden" to quote the wording of the membership registers. It is interesting to note that six immigrant Swedes became members of the congregation in June 1905 when the political tension between Sweden and Norway was most obvious on a national level before the dissolution of the union be-

tween Norway and Sweden later in 1905. Some of these immigrants from Sweden later moved on to Kristiania (Oslo) or to America. During the Second World War, when the border was completely closed, Swedish free church preachers were still able to obtain permission to preach in localities on the Norwegian side of the border. The congregation members could not, however, meet across the border. The Methodists on both sides of the border used to meet once a year to celebrate so-called "border assemblies" both before and after the Second World War.

The archival material of the religious movements provides both quantitative facts about the number of members, expulsions etc. and qualitative information in discussion protocols from meetings and committees. With the help of such protocols I carried out an extensive study on the construction and control of norms within the Swedish Mission Society congregation founded in 1879, on the island of Smögen in Bohuslän (see chapter 9).

The free churches have in accordance with Anglo-Saxon models generally advocated total abstinence from alcohol. The first associations that opposed alcohol abuse however aimed at moderation. These were established during the 1830s and inspired by the clergyman Peter Wieselgren. The focus on total abstinence arose at the end of the nineteenth century. The IOGT that came to Sweden in 1879 and initially had a religious character became especially important. On a local level there could be conflicts and concurrence between the IOGT and the free churches such as the Swedish Mission Society and the Pentecostal movement (see chapter 6 and 9).

The Schartauanism in the west of Sweden has, however, kept its ideal of temperance and given it an ideological motivation (Lewis 1996). The similarities to what Arne Bugge Amundsen has shown among church revivals in Østfold county, like Haugianism and the Home Mission are apparent (Amundsen 1991). Both within Schartauanism and within the movements in Østfold county there has been fear that the principle of total abstinence could lead to a feeling of self-righteousness and pride. Therefore, they have instead, in the Lutheran spirit, concentrated on each individual's taking responsibility for his or her life.

Within the "Kattegat-Skagerrak project" we also discussed the issue of the revivals' positions in the coastal areas and farther away from the border. The result obtained by the researchers both on Jutland, in the south of Norway, and in the west of Sweden was that during the nineteenth century the revival movements got a foothold in the peasant areas farther into the country earlier than among the fishing population out in the coastal region. This result constituted a novelty compared to earlier research where more attention had been paid to the strong revival movements that have existed in the fishing regions during the earliest part of the twentieth century. One explanation for the noted differences between the coastal regions and the inland districts is the fact that religious messages of the revivals that were transmitted through

traveling preachers came from the inland and hence reached the coastal areas last.

The revivals did, however, survive longer along the coast compared to the inland once they had been established there. This might be a result of their proximity to the sea and the insecurity about incomes and people's lives that this brings about in comparison to the interior of the country. Anxiety for their men's lives out at sea has been particularly evident among the women, who have proved to be so important for the religious continuity (see chapter 5). Women sought the comfort of religion in their distress, in Schartauanism as well as in free church movements.

Within the "Kattegat-Skagerrak project" we reached the conclusion, through the comparative studies in several communities, that the development of religious movements cannot be explained only by economy, social structure or mobility. This had, however, been a relatively widespread opinion in earlier religious research. Instead, we found it important to emphasize the significance of ideological factors. One vital factor consists of how the ideological message is presented by preachers with a charismatic quality (see chapter 6).

The experience of time in religious revival environments is also an important topic of study. In 1986, some of my students and I carried out field work together on the revival movement "Faithful Friends of the Bible " (BV), a movement within the Swedish church with strong ties to the northern part of Skåne, focusing on opinions about the relation between mortal life and eternity (see chapter 10).

The perspective of eternity in religious ideology has had consequences for work life. The time that is called "grace" within Schartauanism (Lewis 1997), must be used for good work through which one prepares oneself for eternity. As with the Schartauans, the Pentecostalists on Åstol emphasized that time must be used in the proper way as a preparation for eternity. People in the surrounding society have often noticed the industriousness, persistence and initiative of the Pentecostalists (see chapter 6).

It is important for the field worker, who might be marked by the secularization and worldly views of our time, to consider the perspective of eternity described above. The interviewer should strive to enter into the informant's own world of thoughts even if this might differ notably from the field worker's own. This is often evident in investigations concerning folk religion.

While conducting various field work projects in religiously characterized environments, where internal antagonisms between different opinions in the local surroundings were not uncommon, I have arrived at an increasing comprehension of religion and faith in general being among the most fundamental elements of people's lives, and that they are topics about which it is comparatively difficult to conduct interviews. In addition to this, the issues relating to religious views have come to end up in the individual sphere of modern society and not, as before, in the official and collective sphere. These issues have thereby become more delicate, and more difficult to

confide to others and talk about to outsiders such as fieldworkers. Such contexts demand detailed conversations in which the informant and the field worker successively create a relation based on confidence, and where they share thoughts and experiences. It is important to create a dialogue in which both parties share their views and experiences. It is particularly important to respect the opinions of the informant even if these diverge from those the interviewer represents or is familiar with. Repeated interviews during which one can reach deeper into the world of faith for each meeting are often necessary (cf. Gustavsson 1982a, *Kulturvitenskap* 2006).

The adaptation of religion in the modern society

A Nordic research co-operation project dealt with the adaptation of the Nordic churches and revival movements to modern, industrialized society. The adjustment to a new era has been obvious in the free churches in that forms of congregational chastisement, that is reprimands and sanctions, have been mitigated. During the last decades the practice of expelling members after a trial have ceased and they are instead allowed to choose for themselves if they want to leave the congregation or not (see chapter 6). Specific issues in which discussions about adjusting norms have arisen in recent times, concern attitudes towards sports, the sanctity of Sundays, and the use of alcohol. In the latter case there are tendencies indicating that some free churches, such as the Swedish Mission Society, are about to leave the norm and practice of total abstinence, and instead plead a kind of moderation, among the younger generation at least, especially concerning wines. A quantitative life style investigation among younger free church members in 1997 showed that only about 60 per cent declared themselves to be teetotallers, compared to about 80 per cent in the late 1970s. If the adaptation to the outside world becomes too complete, opportunities arise for new religious movements having fundamentalist traits to emerge and claim that they interpret and follow the Bible's message about faith and way of life more faithfully than the earlier movements. They emphasize the dangers and threats of the modern society. This has been the case with, for example, the movement "The Word of Life" that emerged in Sweden during the 1980s with its centre in Uppsala. Their ideology is based, among other things, upon the struggle with the devil, at the same time as faith in the devil has acquired less importance within the established churches. The challenge for religious movements, both in former times and at present, might be seen as consisting of the choice between loyalty to the ideology and norms found in the Bible, and their application in the society in which one lives and which is continually changing (Gustavsson 1991).

An examination of the attitude towards technical innovations and the media is in-

teresting. Where is the borderline towards the surrounding society drawn? What is seen as being evil and how does this change over time? Opinions about television prove a significant object of study. It is possible to follow how religious movements have distanced themselves from television, or picked out acceptable programs that children in the families have been allowed to watch. Programs that have been avoided are, among others, those with elements of cursing, sex and violence. I have encountered the latter attitude in investigations of the Pentecostal movement (see chapter 6). This has, however, occasioned problems within the families and in the discussions between the different generations, when the younger ones have to be convinced not to view certain shows. Members of "Faithful Friends of the Bible" have in several cases chosen not to own a TV-set. During the 1980s, it was not only older women but also teenage girls who stated that they carefully chose which TV-programs to watch and which to avoid (see chapter 10, cf. also Sjöholm & Wollinger 1988).

The extensive immigration to Sweden and Norway in later years raises questions about how people with foreign beliefs, such as Islam, will be able to acclimatize them in a new and unfamiliar environment, and how they will be received there and have their religious practices accepted. The Swedish ethnologists Pia Karlsson and Ingvar Svanberg have discussed these issues in several books. Problems have occurred when Muslims have wanted to erect mosques in Sweden. Intolerance from the secularized surroundings has then proved to be particularly forceful. The reasons that have been put forward against the building of mosques have not been religious, but worldly, such as an increase of noise and air pollution because of increasing car traffic and a greater need for parking spaces around a mosque. Karlsson and Svanberg wrote:

> It is not the Muslims who constitute the problem, it is rather the prejudices and stereotypes of the surroundings that create tensions (Karlsson & Svanberg 1995: 6, cf. *Religionsfrihet* 1997).

The new religiosity that has occurred in the 1990s has constituted a field of study within a Norwegian research project in folkloristics and religious studies: "Myth, magic and miracle in meetings with the modern" (*Myte* 1996, *Utopi* 1997, *Miraklenes tid* 1997, *Myte* 1999). Unorganized religiosity has been the focus of the project. It deals with, for example, faith in reincarnation, near-death experiences and conceptions of angels and spiritual helpers (Mikaelsson 1996, Selberg 2011).

In our day we encounter what is known as New Age consisting of various and different notions mainly originating in non-Christian sources. New Age also borders on such movements as ecology, feminism and humanist psychology as well as alternative medicine (cf. Frisk 1997, Kraft 2011). In England this movement has chosen the district of Glastonbury as a central meeting place for pilgrims, "the heart chakra of

planet earth", with reference to the historic roots of the place, especially the legend about the Celtic and Christian hero King Arthur who is said to be buried in Glastonbury. The religious scholar Marion Bowman from Bath, England, who has investigated folk religion in Glastonbury stated:

> There is a perception in New Age circles that we are spiritually out of step with ourselves, with each other and with the planet; there is much interest in ancient and esoteric knowledge, earth energies, in ways of reconnecting with the sacred, and the need for healing at the individual and planetary level. Glastonbury is believed to be at the centre of converging intersections which gives it a particularly powerful energy for both healing and personal empowerment (Bowman 1999: 30).

In our day, several European researchers have found a revitalization of numerous traits originating in older religiosity as a reaction, for example, against the modern, individualized way of living and as an expression for the wish of reproducing feelings of community. Konrad Köstlin in Vienna has studied how pictures of angels have reappeared in our society even if they have disappeared to a large extent from official religious ideology. According to Köstlin they satisfy a need for transcendence in our time (Köstlin 1994). The occurrence of angel pictures and notions of angels has experienced a renaissance also in Norway in the 1990s. Individuals are said not only to have guardian angels, in keeping with earlier beliefs, but also angel's wings. Bente Alver in Bergen noted that:

> Newspapers through their articles suddenly move the centre of miracle history from the divine outside the human to the divine within the human herself, and thereby join the current interest for the self and the sacralization of the self (Alver 1997: 102).

Stories about guardian angels are not uncommon and also occur in newspaper articles. The question is if the concept expresses any religious meaning or not. Ann Helene Bolstad Skjelbred gave an ambivalent answer to that question:

> The way *guardian angel* is used as a categorization of events, fluctuates ... between seeing them in an indisputable religious context and a more diffuse context of invisible *forces* or *soul* (Bolstad Skjelbred 1996: 58).

Among some people in Norway beliefs in paradise have taken on a new shape, as is evident from the stories of near-death experiences that Bente Alver has collected and analyzed. In this new paradise, light, love, warmth and harmony rule. Punishment

and condemnation do not exist after death, contrary to earlier Christian beliefs. Only the good death has remained, and it is no longer viewed as related to the deceased's faith or earthly way of life (Alver 1996). Experiences of miracles are also not uncommon or foreign within the new religiosity. They follow the patterns of earlier Christian tradition, but are interpreted in a new way. Stories about miracles fluctuate between doubt and faith (Selberg 1997). Torunn Selberg in Bergen has written thoroughly about people's experiences of supernatural things in the present day Norway in her book *Folkelig religiøsitet* (Folk Religion), (Selberg 2011).

Technical changes in modern society may also have consequences in the area of religion. The radio came to alter the practice of devotion in the homes at an early stage (see chapter 2). Car traffic, a twentieth century phenomenon, has caused many casualties every year out on the roads. Konrad Köstlin in Vienna has studied monuments in the form of crosses, "roadside memorials", that during the last few years more and more often have been erected alongside the road where an accident has occurred. The site acquires a kind of sacred meaning, which is marked for the passers-by by a religious symbol as a memorial and perhaps also as a warning to drive carefully. Religious and sacred meanings may walk hand-in-hand in modern secularized society. Köstlin found that:

> The new accent on the place of death and the rituals celebrated at the location of death are according to a general new meaning of the local which one might call Topolatria (Köstlin 1999: 278, cf. Gustavsson 2011: 123ff).

One might also ask what consequences the achievements of medical science within the field of transplant surgery may have on the religious practice. Oliva Wiebel- Fanderl from the Catholic Bavaria in the south of Germany, who herself is married to a heart surgeon, has interviewed people who have received transplanted hearts and also their families. This investigation is of great interest, bearing in mind the importance of the heart in Christian teachings, especially in Catholic areas. Wiebel-Fanderl gives insight into the problems the patient experiences both before and after the operation, and also in relation to his or her surroundings. The author is inclined to argue for a change in religious learning that considers the advances in transplant science, so as to ease the situation for the patients (Wiebel-Fanderl 1999: 287ff).

The Internet has recently begun to be utilized as a forum for the expression of religious conceptions. I have been made very aware of this during my studies of memorial websites over deceased persons that have been posted in the Internet. Such sites have had an explosive development during the 2000s. Here one can encounter many forms of expression and of an individualized and, sometimes, fairly diffuse religiosity that can remind one of the new spirituality denoted as the New Age Move-

ment. Belief in angels occurs very often in the messages. In order to enter their world, the deceased must climb an unendingly long stairway that is depicted in some of the messages. The meeting with angels is described in a clearly positive context for the deceased. A common concept is that children and young people become angels after death. This is in striking contrast to earlier beliefs when the deceased were supposed to be souls, not angels (Gustavsson 2011). Ingvar Svanberg published an anthology in 2005 entitled *Gud på nätet* (God on the Internet) *(Gud* 2005). Among other examples he cites are those in which people publish inquiries about intercession for themselves or some close relation. They can then often list their e-mail address to facilitate the reception of an exact answer.

The European Research Community

One topic that has attracted increasing attention from the researchers in several places in Europe concerns everyday religion, i.e. the role of religion in everyday life and how it has changed in new situations in the twentieth century. The focus of a European conference in Stockholm in 1993 was on how religion comes to be displayed in people's ways of life, beliefs, upbringing and norms (*Religion* 1994). The aim has been to shift the attention from the festivals of people's lives, which formerly received a great deal of interest in research concerning folk religion. At the same time one must note that it is more difficult to access individual religion in people's everyday lives compared to when it is expressed collectively and in public. It is important to establish good contacts in order to get close to individuals and get them to share their experiences. Micheline Galley in Paris has concentrated on repeated extensive interviews with one single Catholic woman on Malta (Galley 1994: 139ff). In investigations of everyday religion women are of particular interest since they generally have had responsibility for the religious upbringing of the younger generations.
Issues of continuity and change within folk religion in our own time and in older days are also important objects of study in a European perspective. A challenge for the researchers is a clarification of the extent in which popular religion constitutes a changing or restraining force in a changing world. The aim of a European conference in Portugal in 1996 was to illuminate stability as well as changes and the factors behind such processes (*Folk Religion* 1999).

Studies made in Eastern Europe have shown that popular religion has lived on in spite of the officially imposed atheism of the communist era. The cult of the Virgin Mary, for example, has been maintained in connection with childbirth (Sedakova 1999: 113ff). The Virgin Mary has been the long-established symbol of motherhood and fertility within the Greek Orthodox tradition. This religious cult has been so

closely related to childbirth that it has survived even radical political changes.

Jaanus Plaat in Tartu, Estonia, has investigated religious revival movements in the nineteenth century and shown how they influenced earlier popular culture and religion up until the Second World War. These revivals were concentrated in the western parts of Estonia where the Estonian-Swedish minority was located until the Second World War. This leads Plaat to discuss the different factors behind regional variations in religious geography in which he shows an apparent openness to different interpretational possibilities (Plaat 1999: 225ff). Religious revivals constitute, in my opinion, a field of research that is worth studying in a comparative European perspective over time.

Religious changes that have occurred consist of, for instance, a revitalization of religious customs such as has happened with the fall of communism. This holds true for visits to the important pilgrimage site Mariazell in Austria, which increased significantly after 1989 when visitors from Hungary and Czechoslovakia were able to go there after the fall of the Iron Curtain. The function of such pilgrimages changed in a new situation when the pilgrims took the opportunity to show their gratitude for the ending of the oppression of the communist era (Eberhart 1999: 259ff). Old beliefs have certainly survived for a long time, but they have also shown gradual change. The professor of folkloristics Ülo Valk in Tartu has examined devil beliefs and their changes within the Estonian folk religion. He found that:

> The devil became the dominant figure of Lutheran folk religion and preserved his key role in folk belief till the end of the nineteenth century (Valk 1996: 113).

This can be compared to the results that the Finnish-Swedish folklorist Ulrika Wolf-Knuts has described in her dissertation in 1991 at Åbo Academy, about people's beliefs and narratives about the devil at the turn of the century in the district of Vörå where the revival movements had great influence. She has found ambivalence in the popular image of the devil. The devil could be seen both as evil and as good, and thus not only as evil as depicted in the teachings of the church (Wolf-Knuts 1991). As an acknowledgement of her research on folklore and folk piety Ulrika Wolf- Knuts, in connection with her 60th birthday in 2007, received a festive publication named *Folkliga föreställningar och folklig religiositet* (Folk Belief and Folk Religion, *Folkliga föreställningar,* 2007).

Ülo Valk has proposed that Christian folk religion, its maintenance and its renewal, constitutes a significant theme for folklorists in Europe. He stated that the aim of the research is to highlight the relationship and mutual influence of church doctrines and folk culture in different countries with a special focus on popular religion and oral traditions. In 1996 Valk emphasized that "the issue of research in popular re-

ligion ... has become one of the major fields of folkloristic studies at the University of Tartu today" (*Studies* 1996: 10). This is why the publication series started in 1996 was named "Studies in Folklore and Popular Religion".

In Eastern Europe the questions of folk religion and politics have also attracted evident interest both during the communist era and later. Estonia's independence, achieved in 1991, has brought about not only opportunities for religious renewal which Estonian folklorists have begun to study, but also restrictions in connection with the new national border to Russia. This has been experienced by the Finnish-Ugrian minority, the Greek-Orthodox Setu-people, in South-Eastern Estonia. Interest in visiting churches and cemeteries has increased notably and there has been a renewal of religious ceremonies and festivities. Religion and politics do not have to be opposed as during the Soviet era, but may also be linked to each other.

"Politics and Folk Religion" was the theme of the third conference of the SIEF commission on Folk Religion. This conference took place in Szeged, Hungary in 1999 and Gábor Barna was chosen as the president of this commission (*Politics* 2001). One discussion concerned the question of how religion can be used as a tool in the struggle for political power. One need not only think about the antagonisms in Northern Ireland or in the Balkans. The main interest for the folklorist may be the role religion plays for common people within different groupings, and not just within the political or religious elite.

International scholars taking part in the SIEF conference "Politics and Folk Religion" in Szeged, Hungary in 1999. Photo privately owned.

The next SIEF conference took place in Edinburg, Scotland in 2002 with the theme "Gender and Generation". Unfortunately, papers presented here have not yet been edited. In 2004, there was a new conference on Folk Religion in Szeged, Hungary to commemorate the centennial of the Hungarian scholar Sándor Balint's birth in 1904. In the following publication some European scholars wrote about central traits in the study of folk religion in different countries. Arne Bugge Amundsen and I presented research trends respectively (*Ethnology* 2004).

In 2006 a conference was arranged in Celje, Slovenia with the theme "Senses and religion". The papers demonstrated various understandings and perceptions of the senses. Some authors focused primarily on the five senses, i. e. sight, hearing, touch, taste and smell. Others also discussed the sensations connected to these senses. Pilgrimages are one of the main events in which the senses and sensory experiences are addressed and this was discussed in some of the papers (*Senses* 2007, cf. chapter 4). Ulrika Wolf-Knuts from Åbo, Finland was chosen as a new president for the commission on Folk Religion. She arranged a session with the theme "Rethinking the Sacred" at the SIEF congress in Derry, Northern Ireland, in 2008. No scholar from Scandinavia presented a paper there (*Rethinking* 2009). In 2010 the latest conference took place in Warsaw, Poland with the theme "Experiencing Religion: New Approaches towards Personal Religiosity". Peter Jan Margry from Amsterdam, Netherlands was chosen as a new president for the commission on Folk Religion. The conference in Szeged, Hungary in 2012 had the theme "Religion on the Move. How Motion and Migration influence Religion".

Translation: Jean Aase

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2
The Role of Religion in Everyday Swedish Folk Life

This chapter seeks to give some insight into the way religion has affected people's everyday lives, which is a neglected research field. It concerns ordinary people belonging to the established Church of Sweden, not to the free churches, or revival movements within the Church of Sweden. The present study, then, does not concern people who have undergone religious revival or conversion, but people practicing the kind of religion described by the church historian Hilding Pleijel (e.g. 1970) as "the Christianity of the common man".

I shall consider types of behaviour and beliefs with a religious basis. These include belief in God and angels and how they are thought to intervene in people's lives. However, I shall not discuss conceptions of the devil and the way they made themselves felt in everyday life; this was the topic of the doctoral dissertation by Ulrika Wolf-Knuts in Åbo (1991).

It is interesting to study how religious belief influenced people's behaviour in everyday life, and what it meant to people. What sort of behaviour was repeated every day, and what kind occurred only on special occasions? What kind of rules were people expected to follow? How far does Sunday religiosity agree with or differ from everyday religiosity? What kind of behaviour took collective forms and what went on silently and in private? Can we detect changes through time or from one social setting to another? How were religious faith and religious behaviour imprinted on growing generations, and what positive and negative effects did religious upbringing have? I focus particularly on the informants' personal experiences and accounts of their immediate surroundings, rather than general proverbial sayings. Nor do I examine the motifs or origins of the religious texts in the form of the prayers and hymns used by people. Instead I try to detect the conceptual world and its consequences. The aim is a qualitative study, to get as close as possible to the people, the informants, rather than to undertake any quantitative analysis.

The source material consists of responses to questionnaires, mostly from the 1950s onwards, as well as some of the so-called free records preserved in the Swedish folk life archives. The data chiefly concern the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, mostly coming from rural Sweden, but also with some data from the towns.
This chapter will be something of a survey on account of the nature of the material,

which was often collected for other purposes than to shed light on the form of religion on the level of personal experience in everyday life. We therefore need local studies in greater depth. Religion and belief in general are among such deep-lying areas in people's lives that they are surely best suited to penetrating and repeated interviews and conversations where the researcher gradually establishes close contacts and relations of trust with the informants (cf. Gustavsson 1982). This situation does not prevail with questionnaires, which are often highly detailed and dictate the content of the responses.

Conceptions about God and angels

Questionnaire M 9, distributed by the Dialect and Folklore Archive in Uppsala (ULMA) in 1932, contains a section about divine counsel and retribution. As for conceptions about God in everyday life, it was felt certain that he could intervene and ensure that everything ended for the best. He held everything in his hand, not least a person's life span. No one could die before it was God's will that he should die. Doctors could not influence this, so there was little point in sending for a doctor if a person was ill. From the parish of Råggärd in Dalsland we have a statement from 1940:

> No doctors or medicine avail if God has decided that a person should die. It has even been considered a sin to consult a doctor and go against God's will (ULMA 14249: 32).

God could help, but he could also punish people who behaved arrogantly. A concrete way to show arrogance in peasant culture was to criticize the weather on which people were so dependent for their economic survival. Deterrent tales have been told about peasants who swore about the weather. It was a double offence to complain about the weather over which God prevailed and to swear as well. An account from Forserum in Småland from 1933 said:

> A farmer started to swear at the thunder and the weather while people were busy making hay. Just then a cyclone came and swept away every single haystack, and all the hay disappeared into the nearby river. The haymakers stood looking in amazement at this sight, and they understood that the storm had come as a punishment for the blasphemer. It is therefore considered a grave sin to swear about the weather sent by God (ULMA 6680: 45).

Here we have an example intended to deter people from behaving critically towards God, instead of turning to him with trust and humility. God must be allowed to be sov-

ereign, someone to turn to but never to reprove. Through his supernatural power he could destroy those who opposed him.

Ideas about the presence of angels in everyday life are evident from an often used bedtime prayer especially for children: "An angel walks around our house. He carries two gilded candles. He holds the Bible to his breast. We go to sleep in Jesus' name". This prayer has been recorded many times and in a variety of versions. The concept of guardian angels is an extension of the belief that God can intervene and protect, especially in difficult situations. This can give people a sense of security. Guardian angels were a source of particular pleasure to children, which made the parents feel more secure.

There are also evil angels alongside the good ones, but the belief in evil angels appears to have disappeared earlier than the belief in good angels. The belief can be traced only among the very oldest informants, but was unknown to many others. In 1932 an informant from Boda in Dalarna stated:

> My father, born in 1851, used to say that man had a good angel and an evil angel to accompany him through life. If you did right, then the good angel smiled while the evil one turned away in anger, but if you did wrong, then the good angel wept and the bad one triumphed" (ULMA 5367: 18).

This was an expression of a dualistic world view, the struggle between God and the devil, which made itself felt everywhere.

Having looked at the religious forms of the everyday conceptual world, I shall now turn to the concrete ritual expressions – the forms of behaviour – which religious belief took in everyday life.

The daily rhythm

One of the religiously inspired forms of everyday behaviour was prayer. Prayers were to be said every day in the morning and evening and before every meal, but we must ask what form this took, what meaning people ascribed to it, and what significance it had for them. Did it have an inner meaning reflecting a relationship with God, or was merely it an outward show performed out of routine or compulsion by people who had learned that this was the right thing to do? How much of this took place collectively and how much individually? What did it mean to the servant folk on a peasant farm?

Questionnaire no. 158 (1977), compiled by Nils-Arvid Bringéus and distributed by the Folk life Archive in Lund (LUF), sought information on grace and evening prayers. The material on grace has been analysed by both Bringéus (1988: 194-213)

and Ingrid Nordström. Bringéus has concentrated largely on the texts and the content of the grace (Bringéus 1979). The questionnaire focuses on the informants' recollections of behaviour in connection with grace and evening prayer, but not on what they meant to the individual. It is therefore difficult to find such answers. Ingrid Nordström has found that "folk-life records are more about the actual recitation than about prayer as confession" (Nordström 1988: 133).

Many informants remember the compulsion associated with saying grace in childhood, which suggests that it did not have much personal content for them. Parents taught the external behaviour without convincing the children of the value and meaning of grace. It was never internalized. When external behaviour is felt as a compulsion and not accompanied by inner conviction, the conditions are created for abandoning the custom after a time. A man born in 1868 in Gällstad in Västergötland said in 1960:

> We were forced to say grace. 'In the name of Jesus we go to table'. When we had finished eating, each one had to recite aloud: 'For food and drink praise be to thee O God, teach us in faith to keep thy commandments. We thank thee for this food'. Nobody was allowed to leave the table; we all had to sit still until everyone had said their grace (IFGH 6054: 23).

This shows clearly that grace was something collective, where everyone in the household was expected to take an active part. Saying grace was the done thing, even when people were not otherwise particularly religious. People observed the behaviour because it was expected by people around them – masters or parents – not out of any inner religious conviction.

In their behaviour when saying grace, servants were able to show their discontent with the food they received from the master. This was more a question of social criticism than a rejection of the religious belief associated with grace. Some informants, on the other hand, maintain that they derived something positive from saying grace, which they have continued to practise throughout their lives, even when they did not grow up in a religiously active home.

Further back in time it was customary, particularly for children, to recite aloud, but gradually many people began to pray silently (cf. Bringéus 1988: 203ff) or to whisper through clasped hands. The collective element was lost, so that religious behaviour became an individual concern. The next step could be that the practice was abandoned as a generally observed custom when the pressure from the surroundings and the threat of social sanctions was no longer felt. The more religiously active and expressly religious people could continue to pray aloud collectively around the table. The pressure to say grace could also come from people outside the household. In

other words, it was not only exerted by masters against servants or by parents against children. It was essential to say grace if one wanted to retain one's social esteem in the community. People therefore said grace when there were visitors present. It was not solely a matter for one's own home or for the individual.

Another part of the daily rhythm was morning prayer and evening prayer. Evening prayer was one of the topics investigated in LUF questionnaire no. 158 (1977). The questions concerned behaviour and texts but not personal experiences associated with these prayers. One can nevertheless find statements where informants give their own reflections, not least as children. A woman born in 1889 in Stockholm told in 1977 of how her mother sat by her bed and said evening prayers.

But then there was a great deal that I wanted to say to God all by myself. ... To this

A daily devotion on the island of Smögen in 1924. Photo: Dan Samuelsson collection, Bohuslän Museum, Uddevalla.

> day I still say the bedtime prayers I said in my childhood, and I have so much to say to God and so many people to pray for (LUF M 19424: 361).

Mothers said prayers aloud with their children at bedtime. The most frequent prayer appears to have been the one quoted above, "An angel walks around our house", but it was gradually replaced by "God who loves the children so, look on me who am so small". In some cases it was the father who took the initiative for evening prayers, exactly as he had done in the days when household devotions were held under his leadership. The prayers were thus a family occasion involving both parents and children. Whereas morning and evening prayers were collective as far as children were concerned, adults often prayed individually and silently, a development which we have already seen as regards grace. This was after the cessation of household devotions, which were of course collective in character.

As long as evening prayers were said collectively, they were also open to outsiders who happened to come visiting. It was not something to be kept within the family, although it could be perceived that way in the period when the older customs were falling into disuse.

One of the factors in twentieth-century society which helped to change the custom of morning and evening prayers was the daily radio devotions, first in the mornings in the 1920s and from the 1950s also in the evenings. This change was mentioned by some informants even though no direct questions were asked about the influence of radio.

Evening prayers had the important task of protecting people against any evil that might happen. This may be why the belief in guardian angels was particularly relevant at that time. Evening prayers could also be used to ask God for anything that one wanted. There were opportunities for personal variations in different situations. The records have several examples of personal additions to the fixed evening prayers. We are given concrete illustrations of the belief that everyday prayers could be answered, even though the questions in the questionnaire were not looking for this. It was thought that God could intervene in reaction to people's behaviour, in this case, to their prayers.

In working life, too, and not just in the morning and evening or before meals, there was religiously coloured behaviour, for instance, hymn singing. This is revealed in the responses to questionnaire no. 128 (1944) from the Nordic Museum (NM), compiled by Mats Rehnberg. A stonecutter born in 1873 at Bro in Bohuslän said:

> When my mother sat at the spinning wheel, she often sang hymns, and as the children heard these tunes, they gradually learned them by heart" (NM EU 38190: 8f).

A couple in Västergötland listening to a radio devotion in 1940. Photo: Nordic Museum, Stockholm.

The informant thought, however, that the tunes, the variety, and the relaxation from the monotonous work were more important than the religious meaning for the people who sang these hymns. Other informants mention women singing hymns at the spinning wheel. This reinforces the picture of hymn singing as a relaxation and a diversion during monotonous jobs which did not need so much mental concentration; it need not have been done out of any deep religious conviction. The song and the rhythm in themselves may have been more important than the religious content of the texts. Nor was there any sense of compulsion; the hymns appear to have been sung spontaneously, out of the singer's own interest. The practice was learned by listening to others, often the mother.

Questionnaires LUF 106 (1956) and NM 165 (1957) deal with the expression of religion in home furnishings. This topic has also been considered by Eva Londos in her doctoral dissertation presented in Lund in 1993. It is based on in-depth studies of sixty families from different social backgrounds in the town of Jönköping in Småland, an area where free churches are very strong. She has found that "in almost one home in five people devote their spare time to religious activity" and that "in every third

home ... there are religious pictures, in other words, in more than just the religiously active homes" (Londos 1993: 241).

Embroideries with religious texts and mass-produced oleographs occurred, along with photographs of clergymen and the parish church. These pictures were placed in the bedroom and in the sitting room. The responses to the questionnaire give no insight into the significance the pictures had for the people who hung them on the walls, which is the interesting thing from my point of view. The records give a picture of religiously oriented pictures and texts occurring more in actively religious homes and less in homes that were religiously passive or indifferent (cf. Gustavsson 1984). Some less religiously active homes, however, could have pictures and texts with religious motifs. One may wonder whether it was for the sake of decoration, for aesthetic reasons, or as a consequence of an established tradition and thus a routine copying of earlier practices, that these pictures were allowed to hang on the walls (cf. Londos 1983).

The weekly rhythm

The main characteristic of the weekly rhythm was the work of the weekdays interrupted by the Sabbath rest. The start of the rest was often marked by people abruptly stopping work, baring their heads, and saying a prayer at the time when they knew that the Sabbath was being rung in on Saturday evening, if they did not actually hear the bells. This was the practice even in the busiest harvest season. Powerful social and disciplinary sanctions (cf. Ehn 1991: 84ff) could be imposed by other people if anyone worked in a manner that deviated from the expected behaviour. This suggests that this way of starting the Sabbath repose at the moment when the church bells rang need not have been followed solely for personal religious reasons, but also on account of external pressure maintained through sanctions. At times other than harvest, people went out before the bells rang so that when they heard them they could say a prayer. This might suggest more personal commitment, since there are no sanctions to take account of in this context.

Sunday was a day of rest. Some informants draw attention to individuals who attended church on Sundays but whose life on weekdays did not agree with what could be expected of someone who took part in the collective religious life in church. The fact that these people have been remembered in oral tradition suggests that there was a view or a norm that there should be an agreement between Sunday and everyday behaviour. It was dishonesty if a person's Sunday behaviour was merely an outward display with no serious consequences in everyday life.

The objection was that these persons did not consistently lead the kind of lives they sought to give a semblance of. If they lived two different lives which did not

agree with people's expectations, this could be discovered by the community and be talked about. The subjects of the gossip did not always want to be exposed. They made an external show of religious behaviour, but they tried to conceal the way of life that did not agree with the manifest religious behaviour. The criticism in narratives of this kind need not come from the point of view of religion; an element of social criticism can also be detected.

The yearly rhythm and the start and finish of new jobs

Seed-time and harvest were important elements in the peasant's year. It is therefore natural that religious behaviour was associated with these occasions. These were moments of potential insecurity about the immediate future. The economic survival of the family, for which the man was responsible, was at stake. God had weather and growth in his hands, and one could hope to influence this favourably by maintaining good relations with him by performing the appropriate rites. At the same time, one could not be critical if the aim of a good harvest was not achieved; compare the deterrent example above of what happened to people who criticized God's weather. It was important to attain prosperity with the year's harvest. The rites performed by the men at the start of the reaping may have been intended to secure a good harvest, as a kind of magic, and they do not in themselves presuppose a religious meaning for those who follow this kind of behaviour. We may in fact be dealing with relics from Catholic times, when people went in procession around the fields in the spring (cf. Johansson 1956, 1968). It is clear that it was to bring a blessing on the crops that people went round the fields. The expressions "In God's name" and "In Jesus' name" were both used when people began to sow or reap.

Comparable religious behaviour on commencing major tasks also occurred in fishing settings in bygone times, especially when boats were launched in the spring. We may suspect that the men, through their religious behaviour in the form of collective prayer, felt uncertainty about the future and wanted to ensure or pray for success for the boat and the work at sea.

Religious rites also occurred after the conclusion of sowing and reaping, and this had an individual basis. People had to leave the future in the hands of higher powers: "When a farmer had sowed, he used to take off his cap and say something. Sometimes it went like this: 'Now I have sowed and done my task, now it is the Lord who will decide on the growth'", said a woman born in 1860 in Tanum in Bohuslän (VFF 1793: 10, in 1929). Sometimes people bowed in prayer or sang a hymn. All these customs belong to the nineteenth century and scarcely survived into the twentieth century, since informants born in the nineteenth century emphasized in the early twentieth

century that this had been done a long time before. This was outward behaviour which could be observed by others. Silent prayer may have continued, as we have seen in the case of grace and evening prayers.

Crises

Religion could thus be highlighted in a particularly concrete way when crises, whether acute or impending, made people feel afraid or insecure. One such situation was thunderstorms in the countryside. Thunder was in fact regarded as an instrument with which God could intervene and punish men. Questionnaire no. 9 from ULMA (1932) sought information on conceptions and expressions concerning thunder and lightning as instruments of God. Part of this belief was that there was no protection from thunder; one had to rely on God's protection.

In thunderstorms and other moments of fear, people read hymns. Further back in time there were also prayers to the Virgin Mary, which were evidently of medieval origin. A man who worked as a farm-hand at Torrlösa in Skåne in 1847–1848 remembered how another farm-hand at that time had used a prayer like that during a violent thunderstorm (LUF M 3259: 50f).

Dangerous jobs involving the risk of death could lead to the constant observance of religious behaviour at the start of the work. One such situation was that of the fisherman, where it was common to have collective devotions every day on board as well as when boats were launched.

Another risky job was going down the mines. From the mining district of Bergslagen in central Sweden there are records of devotions in the morning before starting work, as well as silent prayer when on the way down in the lift.

Imprinting between generations

Questionnaire no. 98 from LUF (1954) contained some questions about religious upbringing. They include saying grace, evening prayers, and religious instruction, and the picture of God that was communicated to the children. Here I am interested in the religious upbringing that was given in the home, not the education taught in school or church when preparing children for confirmation. It is interesting to see what consequences imprinting at home had for the growing generation later in life. It is a question of the difference between ideals and applied practice.

Parents taught children that God was good but also prepared to punish, and that he saw everything. The warning that no one could escape the gaze of God could be

an instrument for disciplining children. The belief in God was used to imprint norms or virtues which parents wanted to convey to the children. God guaranteed that sanctions were imposed when norms were broken (cf. Brembeck 1986: 20, Liliequist 1991). God observed how people lived, and he rewarded or punished accordingly.

It was often the mother who was responsible for the active religious instruction, inculcating precise norms for behaviour. However, God did not always need to be a severe figure that had to be feared. A woman born in 1896 in Norra Åkarp in Skåne stated in 1960:

> My mother taught us to pray to God as we would to a very dear father, not as someone we had to fear, but she taught us to fear everything that was ugly and wrong, taught us to be honest and truthful (LUF M 15384: 21).

Some informants say that the father was more passive in religious instruction, although he agreed with what the mother taught the children. In several cases the informants say that as children they believed in what they were taught and that it influenced their later lives. A woman born in 1910 in the town of Växjö recalled in 1965:

> God was the good shepherd, who saw when one was telling lies or being disobedient. I believed blindly in that, and I still believe strongly in God. The seeds my mother sowed were not wasted (LUF M 17486: 22).

In these cases, the informants did not feel any compulsion, for example, when saying their prayers at bedtime. Some other informants, however, remember with a critical tone in their voices the compulsion to say evening prayers. If they did not, the parents would take out the rod. There was no point in refusing. This can be compared to the critical reactions to and rejection of parental compulsion to say grace, as we saw above. The rod was hanging in many homes as a warning, without needing to be used.

Everyday religion in the towns

The archival material almost exclusively concerns rural conditions. Some quotations, however, have been taken from urban informants. They come from the more sporadic records that exist. A more detailed complement concerning the influence of religion in the towns comes from the responses to LUF questionnaire no. 126 (1964) on "Urban Traditions", especially the section on religious life. This questionnaire was compiled by Sven B. Ek in conjunction with the extensive urban investigations which

he started in Lund and Eslöv in Skåne at that time, concentrating on the working-class population (see e.g. Ek 1971). The picture we obtain from the accounts is that the workers belonged to the established church, but that religious activity was generally low in the early twentieth century. The questions concern religious behaviour and upbringing. There was sometimes, but not always, a respectful attitude to the state church and its clergy, even from those who did not go to church. On the other hand, children were always sent for confirmation. It did occur that grace and evening prayers were said, even though the people in the home were critically inclined towards the clergy and never attended church. We may wonder whether these prayers were said out of habit, as a tradition with no deeper meaning surviving from established custom (cf. Ek 1971).

Most of the records from working-class homes in Lund, Eslöv, and Ystad, however, state that no grace or evening prayers were said. Evening prayers were more common than grace. Although this questionnaire concentrated on a few towns in Skåne, the recollections are concordant enough to suggest that they are generally applicable to working-class families in Swedish towns.

Conclusion

This chapter has tried to give an insight into the way religion has influenced people's everyday lives, with the emphasis on rural Sweden in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. The focus is on beliefs and religious behaviour, and especially what they meant to people, in other words, their personal experiences. Source material is however a problem for any scholar trying to get as close to people as possible. For this reason I have been forced to seize on and analyse the scattered details of a more personal kind which actually are found in the records of the folk life archives.

A tendency to change which I have detected is the development from collective to individual religious behaviour. Whereas prayers were formerly recited aloud together, people began to show an increased tendency to pray silently and separately. The next stage may have been that this ceased to be a generally observed custom when the social pressure of the surroundings lost its force. The older custom of reciting collective prayers aloud survived longest among children. The predominant motive here was education and imprinting, which presupposes joint oral recitation. It was the mothers in particular who assumed responsibility for this.

Religious behaviour took both a continuous form – morning and evening prayers and the grace said every day – and a special form highlighted in situations of crisis, when people's lives were threatened or they felt uncertain of economic survival, as when they sowed and harvested. These experiences were both situational, for exam-

ple, during thunderstorms, and more regular in connection with dangerous jobs, such as working in mines or at sea, or moments of insecurity in connection with seed-time and harvest. The rites practiced in uncertain and dangerous situations like these, particularly by the oldest informants, give an archaic and medieval impression.

It was important that God was seen as sovereign and all-powerful, able to help but also able to punish people who rebelled against this sovereignty and criticized what happened in everyday life. The view of God was thus ambivalent: he was good and helpful if people behaved properly in their relations with him, but punitive if people deviated from the religious behaviour which he expected. Angels were God's supernatural instruments, who could help and intervene at his command. Here we also have an expression of a dualism in the view of life as a battle between God and Satan, since the latter also had angels at his service, attempting to turn people against God and each other. In this respect we see a change in that the belief in evil angels appears to have disappeared before the belief in good angels.

In moments of crisis there was no compulsion to follow religious behaviour; this was done more for individual reasons, provoked by insecurity and fear in the prevailing situation. At the regular religious rites which were practiced every day, on the other hand, several informants said that they felt compulsion, whether as children from parents or as servants from masters. The social surroundings outside the household could also exert pressure to observe religious behaviour. This had to be displayed when other people came visiting. The sense of compulsion counteracted positive personal experiences and instead provoked a covert or sometimes overt discontent. For example, people could refrain from observing the expected religious behaviour, or they could do things differently, such as distorting the words of prayers; when servants did this it was more an expression of social criticism than of religious discontent. Another form of social criticism was directed against masters and other people in authority who did not really follow the religious principles and norms which they pretended to obey by attending church on Sundays or by saying their grace before meals.

The sense of compulsion instead of a positive experience was one factor leading to a leveling of religious behaviour, especially if one did not have any other active religious conviction as a result of a personal conversion. In contrast, the informants who had a favourable experience of the imprinting of religious behaviour, where it was internalized in their own conceptual world, maintained and cherished the customs they had learned throughout their lives.

Observing religious behaviour in everyday life was not the exclusive preserve of people who were actively religious in the sense of taking part in the church's rites on Sundays. Several informants were anxious to stress this. Religious behaviour concerned more than what was externally visible in the parish church. The question one

asks then is whether other motives than personal religious ones led people to maintain religious behaviour, at least for a period in the home. This behaviour also had more than merely a religious function, such as imprinting obedience and other norms in connection with child-rearing and in relations with servants. God was a guarantee of sanctions when offences were committed against the norms that people wanted to imprint.

On the one hand, then, there is one prominent category in the material, with narratives from the informants' own childhood homes about people showing more religious behaviour on weekdays than on Sundays. On the other hand, there is a category of people showing active churchgoing on Sundays but with everyday lives not agreeing with the expectations aroused by the Sunday behaviour. Narratives of this category do not concern the informants' own homes but those of other people. This suggests that observing religious behaviour on weekdays, without displaying it in church on Sundays, was more accepted than Sunday religiosity which was not accompanied by the expected consequences in everyday behaviour.

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3
A Nineteenth-Century Peasant and Intra-Church Revival Movements in Bohuslän, Sweden

While conducting fieldwork in the 1970s, I came across some detailed handwritten diaries. These had been written by Jakob Jonsson, owner of Prästbacka farm in Röra parish on Orust island in Bohuslän province. He was born on 21 July 1795 and died on 15 March 1879. The material that has been preserved covers a period starting in 1866 and continuing on to within a few weeks before Jonsson died in 1879. He also wrote letters during his life. His wife died in 1854. Two of his three daughters were married to farmers on nearby farms. However, Anna Britta, his third daughter, lived on her father's farm during this entire period. Jonsson worked actively as a farmer for the whole of his life but this work was shared between the years 1867 and 1873 with Olle Olsson, the half-owner and his family. Anna Britta married the farmer Per Olausson in 1873. He then shared Prästbacka farm with his father-in-law.

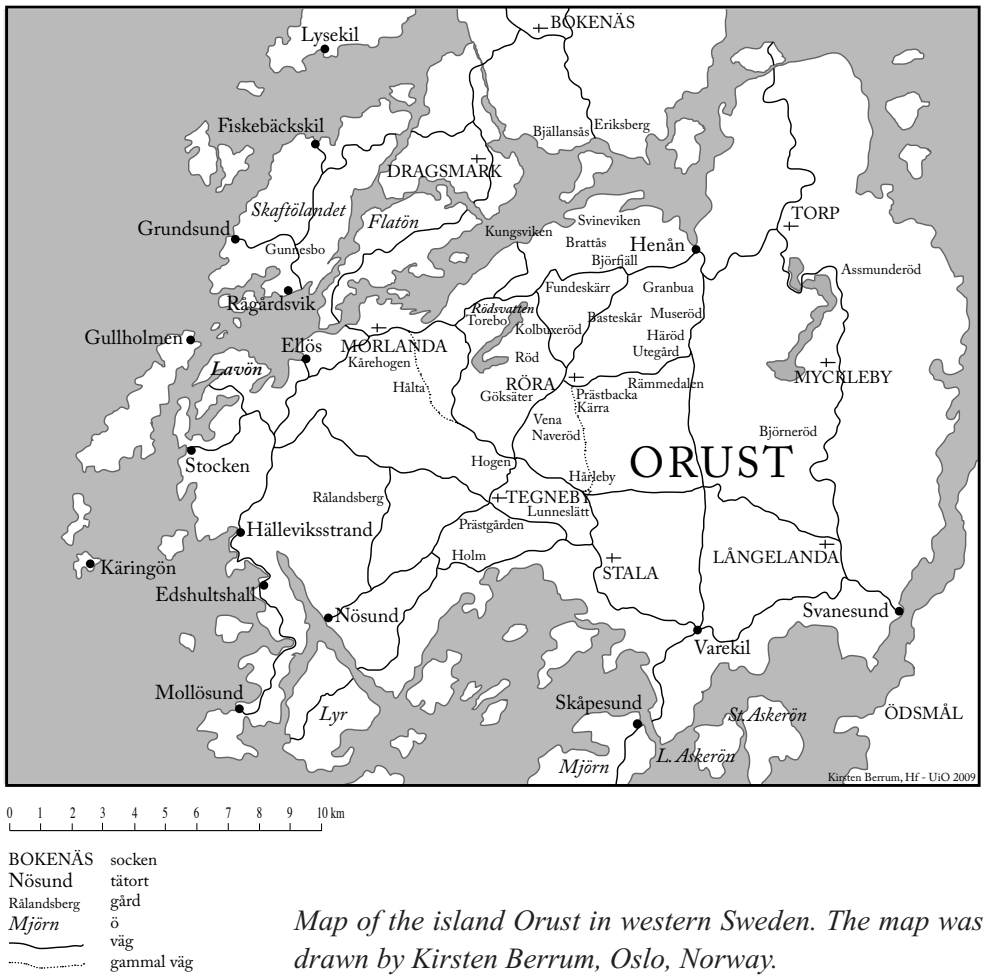
The farmer Jakob Jonsson 1795-1879. Photo privately owned.

Jakob Jonsson's farm in the middle of this painting made in the 1890s by Jonsson's grandson Anders Abrahamsson who was born in 1874. Painting privately owned.

In 2007 Jonsson's diaries became public property after being presented to the Bohuslän Museum in Uddevalla. They have also been made available for future research by having been published in two volumes printed in 1991 and 1997 (*Jakob Jonssons dagbok.* 1–2. 1991 and 1997). When citing these sources, I indicate volume 1 or 2 and the page number or numbers.

Jonsson's sources of information consisted firstly of his own visual and oral observations on the farm and its surroundings, including the local church. In addition, they involved oral narratives from his own parish and, to some extent, from neighbouring parishes. A third source of information consisted of what he had read in the regional newspaper, *Bohusläns Tidning*, and in *Svenska Weckobladet*, a journal published in Stockholm between 1869 and 1895.

An extensive register and collection of nineteenth-century peasant diaries was compiled in Sweden in the late 1970s (Berg and Myrdal 1981, Larsson 1992). The peak period for when such diaries began to be written was the 1860s, i.e. the very period that saw the beginning of most of Jonsson's diaries. A more discerning treatment



Map of the island Orust in western Sweden. The map was drawn by Kirsten Berrum, Oslo, Norway.

of individual diaries in relation to selected topics covered by the contents has not yet appeared.

Such diaries can provide a micro-perspective on people's way of life and world of conception in a local society, and also on the changes that took place in the years that the diaries were written. This can be considered as micro-history (cf. Flygare 2011).

A discovery of this kind is of great interest to a cultural historian, providing as it does information about lifestyles, social life, the conceptual world and, at best, both personal experiences and reflections on a small coastal farm. It relates to an age far earlier than when fieldwork commonly began being conducted in the form of interviews, observations and photographing.

In this chapter I have chosen to *clarify the issue of how intra-church revivalism was expressed in the diaries kept by Jakob Jonsson and the letters he wrote.* These

sources that are contemporary to his own time constitute the principal foundation on which to base the writing of his biography. A gaining of familiarity with a completely ordinary nineteenth-century individual is otherwise problematic.

The young Jakob Jonsson

The earliest text written by Jakob Jonsson is dated 13 January 1812. This is a 12-page saddle-stitched booklet. It begins with a New Year's hymn from the 1695 hymnal eminently suited to quoting at the very beginning of a new year: "Jesus, let me always start within your name in all I do ...". Then a great number of texts from the Old and the New Testaments and the Apocrypha, among them the Book of Sirach, are quoted. Quotations from several hymns in the hymnal also appear. This indicates very clearly that the then seventeen-year-old Jonsson was already extremely conversant with the Bible and the hymnal. He had also taught himself to write, an exceptional accomplishment in peasant families at that time since the law on public schooling was not put into effect until 1842. In the above-mentioned booklet there is one particular reflection on the Holy Communion. It is described as being

> The fountain of life, the health-bringing fountain flowing from Jesus' wounds, from which drips the blood of Jesus Son of God that cleanses us of sin, strengthens our faith, strengthens us in sorrow, and restores the soul from suffering. From this fountain we must suckle pure bosom-liquid-power and the water of life, flowing with gladness and joy, the clear holy milk of Jesus' consoling bosom.

Such devotion associated with Jesus' wounds indicates that inspiration may have been taken from the United (Moravian) Brethren (see Pleijel 1925, Jarrick 1987). This religious movement was an early inspiration for Pastor Henrik Schartau whose name is found in the West-Swedish and intra-church revivalist movement called Schartauanism. Jonsson has also read older pietistic works that were translated into Swedish. Among these is the German theologian Philip Jacob Spener's book *Den innerliga och andeliga Freden, eller Guds Frid* (The Fervent and Spiritual Peace, or Peace of God) published in Gothenburg in 1826. This book was later bequeathed by Jonsson to his daughter Inger.

Concerning *crises of a mental nature* Jonsson was able to engage himself at an early age in order to be a spiritual support to others by means of writing letters. He showed compassion and concern, something that could contribute to psychological relief for the stricken persons. One letter showing deep concern for another person's crisis situation was sent on 19 June 1818 to "the Well-bred Bachelor Anders Andersson

of Naveröd". Jonsson was then only 23 years old. He wrote to a friend of his own age. The letter opens with the words "My most intimate Brother". This friendship had already lasted several years, and was expressed in the meetings between Jonsson and Andersson on some Sundays and the conversations they held as they walked to and from the church in the neighboring parish of Morlanda.

Jonsson obviously experienced a spiritual comradeship with this man who had just suffered some extreme difficulty in his life. This he had written about in a letter to Jonsson dated 30 May 1818. The latter answered that "from your letter I understand with tender sympathy just the kind of burdensomely repulsive and disgusting situation my brother finds himself in". It was "a letter about a very moving subject, so that what I have understood and read in it leaves me without words". It is clear that Jonsson has been very upset by the contents of this letter. He wished to help his friend survive these difficulties. Friendship was not allowed to be passive when other people in the neighborhood experienced situations of crisis. At the same time he regretted having neglected to answer the letter even earlier, but this had been due to the many tasks to be done on the farm in the early summer.

What Jonsson could do was to give spiritual guidance to this man. He gave his help and comfort by referring to several texts in the Old and the New Testaments. Among these were the words in the Acts of the Apostles 14: 22: "... we must through much grief enter into the kingdom of God". It was also important to give hope to this distressed friend. "Hope is what best can support us in times of need", Jonsson noted. In this respect he referred to the seventeenth-century theologian Johan Arndt's "excellent book on True Christianity" with which he was well acquainted. "May God grant you His grace, my dejected brother, so you continue immovable and preserve your good patience and hope" (from a privately owned letter). This man obviously survived his great difficulties since he married a few years later and fathered several children.

The role of religion in Jonsson's later life

In the course of the agricultural year

Spring farm work with sowing was dependent on the weather. Feeling able to trust in God's help and protection at this time could provide a sense of confidence in the immediate future. After sowing was completed on 20 May 1876, Jonsson wrote that "it is now for God to decide about the crop (i.e. if there would be any crop to harvest, author's note)" (vol. 2: 187).

A drought could occur at any season of the year to the damage of both the crops and the water supply for people and animals. How did a firm religious belief express

itself in this regard? As early as in the spring of 1818, Jonsson wrote of a long-lasting drought. Even as a young man, religious faith had given him an inner confidence in times of outer crisis. "The right hand of God can transform everything. He takes pity on our misery even in physical form". On Midsummer Eve, 23 June, there was a heavy rain, something that had not taken place since 13 May. Jonsson experienced this as a factual answer to his prayers.

The last serious *crop failure* in Sweden occurred in 1867-1868. The first time Jonsson wrote of an acute drought during 1868 was on 23 June. Then he mentioned that "many people started singing with me" the hymnal's 396th hymn "which includes a song of prayer for rain, and the words: 'O, help the wretched grain, bring joy to grieving hearts again', I found especially fitting" (vol. 1: 91). This hymn, written in the 1600s by Haquin Spegel, Bishop of Visby, is the only hymn in the hymnal of 1819 printed under the heading "In lengthy drought" (*Den svenska psalmboken* 1820, no. 396). There are several instances indicating that Jonsson was very familiar with the hymnal and that he applied its contents to suit everyday incidents.

The grain fields were in very poor condition. However, one was not to despair in this serious external situation, because "it may well be that starvation will not occur due to the wise providence of the almighty and gracious God, even if all seems bleak to our short-sighted eyes etc" (vol. 1: 92). Trust in God provides an obvious strength and inner security for believing that one will be able to cope physically with recognizable hardships and anxiety for the future.

The drought was disastrous not only in the fields, but also caused wells to dry up. On 18 July we are told that many people "lack water for themselves and their livestock", but as it happens "thanks be to God, we still have enough water in our own cow pasture for us and our animals" (vol. 1: 97). This was something for which God was to have credit. It was a matter of seeing the positive elements in connection with grave outer hardships.

When the rain finally fell in late August, it came too late to benefit the hay and grain since they had already been harvested. The yield of potatoes gave the best result when this crop was harvested later that autumn. When Jonsson summed up the result of the year's harvest on 5 October, potatoes were the greatest subject for rejoicing. "And thanks be to the Highest, that this year's potato harvest has been a success almost everywhere" (vol. 1: 110). It was important for him to praise God both in situations of crisis and, especially, when one had experienced something that brought joy. One notices that Jonsson's confidence and contentedness had a clear religious basis. Contentedness was an especial feature of the so-called Schartauanian revivalist movement in western Sweden.

Weather plays an important role in a farmer's life. It is therefore interesting to determine how various *weather signs* relate to the religious world of conception. Jon-

sson mentioned numerous weather signs and expressed skepticism about several of them. He described them as being fables or superstitions or, in a more value-neutral form, as "ancient marks" (vol. 1: 340). That is why they are not always accurate. Jonsson had several discussions about the folk conception on how a new moon on a Thursday or Saturday always heralded bad weather. Quite to the contrary, he saw that on Monday 23 October 1871 that "the weather was extremely fine and calm". Instead of relying on weather signs, his observation led Jonsson to emphasize the divine influence on weather and changes in the weather. "Therefore, all credit for, and might and control over both the weather and other conditions should be ascribed to God and not at all to the days of the new moon and suchlike" (vol. 1: 231). Jonsson understood where he could place his innermost confidence.

The sanctity of Sunday

An important factor in western Swedish evangelism was the maintaining of Sunday as a day of rest. Jonsson's texts contain numerous examples of this. This is in accord with what the Rector Johan Sörman wrote in 1875 in his official report prior to the bishop's visitation in Tegneby parish to which Röra belonged. "Non-observation of the sanctity of Sunday by working outdoors almost never occurs" (GLA GDA FII: 20). On the other hand, Jonsson saw nothing questionable in working until midnight on Saturday evening. This was of special importance when it rained after a lengthy period of dry weather and there was ample water to drive the farm's two water-powered mills. On Saturday 24 May 1873, "we were able to mill grain on both mills towards evening and then until midnight, and if it hadn't been Sunday the day after we would have continued the milling longer" (vol. 1: 324). Jonsson placed the sanctity of Sunday in a larger religious context reaching back to the Divine Creation. At the time of the holidays at Christmas, New Year and 12th Night in 1872-1873, a lot of water ran through the millstream. In motivating a resting from work during Sundays and holidays, Jonsson reflected on the following expression of how nature herself benefited from being allowed to rest:

> It would seem as if the Lord of Nature, the God and Creator of us all, wishes even the water (mill-water) to hold a day sacred and to rest on the Sabbath, so that it might run its natural course free and unhampered, namely to flow unchecked in its natural channel on and in the earth and not in those passages invented by man that sometimes lead it above the surface of the earth so that the higher fall can power the assembled wheelwork etc to the greater glory of God on High (vol. 1: 303).

God assumes responsibility for and protects nature, and man must also show consideration and respect for this. In this an environmental awareness can be said to have a religious basis.

Water still races with great power through the remains of the water mill where the two Prästbacka farms did their milling. Photo: Anders Gustavsson, spring 2008.

Concern for vulnerable people

Jonsson showed an obvious concern for other people who lived under difficult economic conditions and who met with various forms of crisis situations. Seen in the context of the many trading contacts that were established between the rural inland and the coastal villages, one can easily understand Jonsson's concern for and anxiety about the fishermen who were exposed to great peril during fierce storms out on the open sea. On 28 March 1878 he informs us that a severe storm had raged all day and night. However difficult this might be for the people of Röra, it was worse "out on the sea for our poor coastal dwellers, since they are usually out at sea to conduct their fishing. ... We commend them with heartfelt prayers unto the mild mercy of Providence, we can do no more to aid them" (vol. 2: 256f). Prayers of intercession are something Jonsson could contribute at the same time as he placed his trust in "the mild mercy of Providence". The word "Providence" is used by Jonsson in different contexts, something that actually resembles the mentality of the eighteenth- century Enlightenment which he can have encountered in the early nineteenth century. In other contexts, however, we meet the terms "God", "Lord", "the Highest", "the Creator", "the

All-good", "the All-wise", etc. Trust in God gave Jonsson security and constituted a counterweight to anxiety.

During the summer and fall of 1866 an epidemic of cholera raged in several coastal villages in Bohuslän. This is a bacterial stomach disease with diarrhea and vomiting, and with a mortality rate of about 50 per cent (www.ne.se Kolera). Jonsson noted towards the end of August that cholera was "very serious in certain places, especially in the fishing village of Gullholmen". He observed the situation for the coastal population with great anxiety and wrote:

> It seems as if all these unfortunate or pitiful coastal dwellers are to keep one another company in eternity at one and the same time – we must see how long the Angel of Death is allowed to harry or how wide-ranging and far-reaching are his orders to slay.

This is the only occasion on which Jonsson used the word "eternity" as a perspective on death, which is to say as a conception of an existence after death. His focus was otherwise on an earthly life and earthly incidents. He also used a religious interpretation in speaking of an Angel of Death that was sent out to slay. This conception goes back to accounts in the Old Testament concerning the Israelites' exodus from Egypt (www.ne.se Mordängel). This is the only time that Jonsson expressed thoughts of a chastising God. His world of ideas was otherwise always occupied by a charitable and benign God. According to Jonsson, however, there was a religious way out of these difficulties caused by cholera. "Earnest penance and prayers for mercy might serve as a reason for the Angel of Death to cease slaying people" (vol. 1: 27). The offering up of prayers served Jonsson once again as a means for emerging from situations of crisis. The word "penance" implies that people must also change their way of living. On 26 October Jonsson was gratefully able to verify: "Thanks be to God that the cholera sickness has generally and clearly lessened in the towns and fishing villages where it has been most serious" (vol. 1: 30). As epidemic conditions began to improve Jonsson found it essential to remember to praise God as being He who controls developments and directs them for the best.

Experiences of people in the surrounding district

Jonsson was a man of obvious sentiments and reflections which he did not conceal but instead noted down. He was not merely an observer and recorder of events as was the usual practice in other nineteenth-century peasant diaries. He also displayed personal feelings of joy and sorrow and of commitment. He could express both appreciation and criticism of people in his immediate surroundings. His son-in-law Per Olausson was both praised and criticized. On 22 April 1874 Jonsson noted that "there

is real harmony and goodwill among our servants, something that my good-natured son-in-law Per contributes to. Thank God" (vol. 2: 35). Jonsson desired peace and good accord in relationships between people. God was to be praised when this occurred. At the same time, Jonsson could express a certain criticism of Per's way of running the farm. On 13 April 1875 the son-in-law was criticized for sowing far too thick a layer of clover seed (vol. 2: 105). Jonsson let the future determine, however, if Per really did use too much seed. He did not judge him immediately. "Time will show in the fall if it was too much" (vol. 2: 114). Jonsson often displayed an obviously conciliatory trait.

Experiences of the church and the clergy

Jonsson was a faithful churchgoer whenever he was not hindered by bad weather or illness. From 1861 and onwards, he noted down the lesson for the day and the topic for the sermon given by the clergymen of Röra parish. He expressed many opinions concerning both church attendance and the presiding clergymen. He could both praise and criticize their sermons and their presentations. On Whit Sunday, 4 June 1865, he noted "good sermon!" after having listened to the Rector Johan Sörman. In his comment on Sörman's Easter Day sermon on 16 April 1865, Jonsson wrote that it was "eminent as we must regard all of his sermons, and worthy not only to be written down on paper, but also to be engraved on the surface of the heart!!!" The original text contains all three exclamation marks. In 1869 Jonsson wrote a letter to Rector Sörman pointing out that his hearing was now very poor. He therefore wished to borrow some of the clergyman's manuscripts for his sermons. This indicates very clearly how

Johan Sörman who was the rector of Tegneby and Röra parishes 1861-1877. Photo privately owned.

much emphasis was placed by Jonsson on the Sunday sermons. Sörman was, however, forced to refuse this request because his manuscripts were simply too full of abbreviations. Instead, he advised Jonsson "to read many of the excellent volumes that you own" (privately owned letter). The clergyman was thus aware of the fact that Jonsson had access to many valuable devotional works in his home.

Jonsson wrote special comments about new clergymen or substitutes who served in Röra church. When a young curate officiated at the service on Midsummer Day, 24 June 1876, Jonsson was very satisfied and noted: "It would appear that he will be a valuable or useful tool in the service of God, a good presentation, good and distinct voice etc" (vol. 2: 195). In 1878, however, a visiting preacher named Herslof proved very hard for Jonsson to hear, and he lets us know that. "I can almost say that I could not make out a single word because of his feeble voice". Jonsson was therefore in some doubt as to whether he would place a contribution in the collection plate on 6 October, but he did it nonetheless "for the sake of his sacred office and the care he showed in the exercise of his duties" (vol. 2: 307f). Herslof had been very energetic in his teaching of the confirmation candidates, as Jonsson had observed. This offertory was taken up a week after that year's confirmation service in Tegneby and Röra.

Participation in societal matters

The opportunity of influencing the work of Parliament in Stockholm was applied by Jonsson through writing letters to the Member of Parliament and farmer Johan Henriksson from Röra. This man took up his duties in 1865, but died of typhoid fever as early as December 1867, only 34 years of age. The letters to Henriksson clearly show Jonsson's societal commitment. He did not only read about current events in newspapers. He was also deeply engaged and showed this by proposing social changes. The basis for these proposals was his revivalistic faith that thus acquired obvious social significance. He never appeared as an elderly, religious man who had no interest in what took place in the community at large, whether on a local or national level. Both the letters and the diaries express his evaluations and standpoints. According to the historian Britt Liljewall, this is a trend that began to appear in popular letter-writing culture at about the mid-1800s (Liljewall 2007: 183).

The letters (*Mera från vår bygd* 1978) that Jonsson wrote to Johan Henriksson show that he was interested in national restrictions on *the consumption of tobacco*. He spoke of "the unnecessary smoking of tobacco, which now is such a common habit that it has almost become a kind of second nature". It was the extravagance in smoking to which Jonsson was opposed. In this one can infer a form for moderation also emphasized in the western Swedish revivalist movement concerning the consumption of alcoholic beverages (Lewis 1996). Jonsson proposed that tobacco smokers should be made to pay a tax, excepting for any person who "could present a doctor's certifi-

The Member of Parliament between 1865-1867, Johan Henriksson. Photo privately owned.

cate showing that he had to smoke for the sake of his health". Here we can see that Jonsson was innovative in wishing to impose a tax on stimulants. At the same time it would appear that there was a popular notion about the smoking of tobacco having a positive medical effect in some instances, similar to the widespread popular conception of alcoholic beverages having a good effect on common colds. In a medical work written by the district medical officer of Håby district in Mid-Bohuslän in 1868, however, the author repudiated all use of tobacco in any form since this was completely detrimental to the health (Goldkuhl 1868: 14).

Woman's status in society was also discussed by Jonsson in a letter to the Member of Parliament Johan Henriksson. The point of departure for his comments was something he had read in a newspaper concerning the question of improving "woman's dignity". He was opposed to what he had read about this matter. He understood it to be "placing woman as a competitor on the male field". According to Jonsson, woman's primary mission was to "bear and raise children, keep her house in order, and indeed, to lay the first groundwork for human culture and much, much more". Jonsson justified his interest in this matter by saying that it was based "neither on hatred nor ill feeling towards this in itself and in its proper place most estimable sex, but rather because they must be protected, and not come to find themselves in such difficulty etc". Benevolence towards women was clearly expressed in the words "must be protected". It is of great interest that we can trace such an early comment about the relationship

between the sexes and their differing tasks in the home and with the family. These conditions should not be altered according to Jonsson since they were regulated by "the All-wise and Righteous". His religious faith was thus clearly expressed in this conception of societal matters. Jonsson's positive evaluation of women's contributions in their homes and in the community was, however, clearly expressed in all the comments he made concerning the varying instances of women's work, something that was not usual in nineteenth-century peasant diaries (Liljewall 1995: 38; *Alla de dagar* 1991: 17). It was the merging of the sexes' duties in an attempt to achieve equality that Jonsson opposed with a religious fervour.

Diseases and perils

Doctors were consulted to a considerable extent whenever illness occurred. The medical profession was highly esteemed by Jonsson as is clearly indicated by his description of a doctor's unexpected death in Henån on 7 February 1875. Jonsson wrote of this doctor named Dalen as "one who had long aided the hand of the Highest in curing and relieving sickness among others" (vol. 2: 92). The medical profession was thus seen in a religious context. Medical science was not considered as being isolated from religion, but rather as being subordinate to it in order to assist people when they were ill.

Conditions were especially problematic when epidemics broke out. A serious disease that caused many deaths was called *nerve fever*. This is an obsolete name for typhoid fever caused by an aggressive salmonella bacterium. It causes inflammation of the walls of the small intestine before spreading through the body and the blood (www.ne.se Nervfeber). In early July of 1871, Jonsson's daughter Anna Britta caught this disease. On 23 July he recorded that her serious illness continued "and does not seem to show the least sign of betterment nor of worsening, but she is not, praise God, so strongly tormented that she either raves or is in anguish, but yet she cannot sleep or eat" (vol. 1: 218). God was seen as providing aid in such extreme circumstances and that, after all, gave some consolation. The situation could have been even worse without God's intervention. On Sunday 27 August Jonsson could rejoice and praise God when his daughter could once more take part in church services after having been prevented from doing so for eight weeks (vol. 1: 225).

Thunderstorms could be dangerous to both people and property. Jonsson experienced this at close hand on 8 July 1878:

> The thunder rolled so loudly and so suddenly while I was working on the barn ramp that it both startled and dazed me, and I feared that the lightning preceding it would have set the barn on fire, but the All-good protected us from this fate (vol. 2: 284).

God was here seen as the trustworthy power that could also control violent thunderstorms. This gave a sense of security in dangerous situations.

Devotional literature

In his youth Jonsson read works by the seventeenth-century theologian Johan Arndt on *Den sanna kristendomen* (The True Christianity). He also seems to have been acquainted with some literature from the United (Moravian) Brethren movement. Later in the nineteenth century he also made use of publications written by the revivalist Henrik Schartau. On 10 February 1872 Jonsson was able to purchase the last installment of this man's collection of sermons. It cost four *riksdaler* of which Jonsson paid two, while his half-owner Olle Olsson and a neighbouring farmer each paid one *riksdaler* (vol. 1: 246). Devotional books could obviously be borrowed and read amongst different families. The farmer Lars Andersson from the neighbouring farm of Naveröd bought the fourth volume of Schartau's sermons as early as 1858. Later he even acquired the discourses written by the eighteenth-century theologian Magnus Friedrich Roos which also had importance for the western Swedish Schartauan revival movement.

Jakob Jonsson's own death

In view of the fact that Jakob Jonsson wrote so much about other people's deaths, one might wonder about his thoughts concerning his own death. He passed away on 15 March 1879, nearly 84 years of age. In a letter dated one year earlier, he wrote that "the state of my health is fairly good", but he also realized that he could be nearing the end of his life as he was in his 83rd year. This is something that he had not referred to previously despite having shown great interest in other people's deaths both in his own parish and elsewhere. Nonetheless, he felt great faith when facing this fact. "In this as in all my other affairs, I deliver myself into the hands of the Blessed Father. He shall dispose of me as He thinks will be the best". The moment of death will be whenever God, as "the Blessed Father", decides. No fear of death was indicated.

A handwritten memorandum describing "father's deathbed" has been preserved. It was probably written by Jonsson's daughter Anna Britta. As written in the text, "he showed no fear of death during his lengthy ordeal". He suffered patiently "even when distressed by strange thoughts". What these latter may have involved is unknown. His physical pain was apparent, but he has also felt an obvious mental anxiety. Then he turned to God with his prayers, as he had done all his life, and experienced confidence. His daughter wrote that "he appealed to God for deliverance to his fulfillment with heartfelt prayer". This is the same belief that Jonsson himself had expressed earlier. The daughter ended

her text with that "he was able to feel that the righteous shall be the blessed".

A pair of handwritten memorial tablets was set up in the home after Jonsson's death, as was the common practice for a time after death. One tablet notes the birth- and death-dates of both Jonsson and his wife, with a reference to Psalms 47: 8 stressing God's sublimity: he "sitteth upon the Throne of his holiness", but does not in any way allude to human death. This is shown on the other tablet, however, with Job 19: 25-26 in which it is said "and though after my skin worms destroy this body, yet in my flesh shall I see God". There was, in other words, an evident conception of a meeting with God after death.

Another memorial tablet commemorating only Jakob Jonsson not only records his birth- and death-dates but also quotes five handwritten verses with religious content which are, however, not found in the 1819 hymnal. Even though it has not been possible to trace the source of these verses, the conceptions of death that they express can be of interest. The verses are written in the first person with the newly dead Jonsson indicated as speaking in the I-form. The first verse expresses a farewell to children and friends. The deceased commits his soul into God's hands. "As if borne by the wings of angels" the soul rises "free and joyful" up to Heaven. This is described as being a "beautiful city" where there is a "sweet peace". There the deceased shall meet once more those that have died before. Verse 4 refers to the biblical quotation about that which is sown into the earth shall arise again in transfigured form. The body shall be renewed on the Day of Judgment. The deceased expresses a prayer of "let me rise onto Heaven" with reference to his now having "pure and cleansed blood". In this a Christian conviction is very clear. These verses have probably been chosen by Jonsson's daughters, but they surely illustrate a conviction that was prevalent in the home. In this way they can express Jonsson's innermost thoughts despite his never having written about any such conceptions of a life after death in his diaries. He was a down-to-earth person whose religious faith was present at all times. It stood both for all that was permanent in life's different variations, and also allowed for the finding of solutions in both the present and the future.

The most characteristic elements in Jonsson's life

All such expressions of feelings found in Jonsson's written material show that he differed from the norm in other Swedish diaries dated to the late 1800s. The historian Britt Liljewall, who has studied this source material, expresses it thus: "In contrast to the bourgeois diary, peasant diaries are not a medium for reflection on events or an outlet for emotions. ... The almost invariable lack of reflection, emotions and thoughts also limits opportunities for clarifying, ex gr, attitudes and evaluations" (Liljewall

1995: 31f). Jonsson's experiences and reflections are, on the contrary, often impossible to misunderstand. This applies not only in relation to death. His consideration for other people's circumstances, regardless of social and economic status, is very apparent. The fact that women are very visible in Jonsson's writing is also a distinctive element when compared to other Swedish peasant diaries. This gives his diaries special importance.

Some nineteenth-century Danish peasant diaries are more in harmony with Jonsson's writings in that they include reflections and do not merely register events. This shows an influence from religious revivalist movements (*Bondedagbøger* 1980: 18). This type of influence can also be a factor in Jonsson's case. A basic religious point of view was always obvious in all his interpretations of contemporary events or thoughts of the future. Intercession by prayer was experienced as an adequate response whenever he felt anxiety for others' well-being. He delivered developments into the hands of God, and that gave him comfort even in times of deep distress. Whenever he experienced success or whenever his prayers were answered, he always painstakingly praised God for these benevolent actions.

Translation: Jean Aase

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4
The Use of the Senses in Religious Revival Movements

This chapter reviews the use of the five human senses – sight, hearing, touch, taste, and smell – in religious revival movements from the late nineteenth century to the present. The study is primarily based on my fieldwork in the coastal regions of western Sweden, but also includes surveys of similar movements in the nearby countries of Norway and Estonia, and in the history of the protestant church.

Sight

Sight can refer partly to what humans actually see with their eyes, and partly to supernatural experiences during which the seers believe that they are observing supernatural objects and beings.

Actual sight once had a fostering and confessional function. Obvious examples are the mass-produced religious pictures that began to be found in many homes in the late nineteenth century and to be customary in revival homes from the same period. An intentional instructive purpose must be presumed when such pictures were hung in children's bedrooms. One woman from the province of Jämtland told of a picture of Christ in her childhood home:

> Mother meant for this picture to show us where we ought to turn in all the ups and downs of life. The picture had great meaning for us in this way, and gave us the confident faith to cope with whatever we would meet.

Pictorially based concepts of this kind have made lifelong impressions on the minds of many of my informants. If these pictures were intended as a profession of faith directed towards strangers, they were hung in the room where visitors were welcomed into the home. The pictures were often accompanied by biblical passages, such as "For me and my house, we will serve the Lord" from Joshua 24:15. A woman from the province of Värmland stated:

> The most important thing is to have the pictures in the sitting room and the children's rooms. We assert our faith when we dare to display what we believe in and stand for. After all, we do meet many nonbelievers.

The devotional aspect was obvious when pictures were hung in bedrooms. Pictures of the Madonna have also begun to be found in the bedrooms of free-church homes in recent years, something that can be attributed to foreign travel in Catholic countries. Religious pictures have also been found in the sleeping quarters of fishing boats belonging to revivalist owners, along with prayer-like texts, such as

> Jesus, Savior, pilot me /
> Over life's tempestuous sea . . . /
> Chart and compass come from Thee; /
> Jesus, Savior, pilot me.

This text, which expresses a stalwart faith in the face of the uncertainty that prevails out at sea, was one found on a boat owned by Pentecostals from the island of Åstol.

The text "Jesus, Savior, pilot me ...", hangs above the bunk in the fishing boat Brattvåg from Åstol. Photo: Jan-Erik Weinitz, 1980.

In recent years, even in greatly secularized Sweden, it has become increasingly common to wear a cross hanging visibly on a chain around the neck. One continuation of my fieldwork, in addition to the observations already attained, could be to interview people wearing crosses. What meaning do these crosses have for them, and what do they intend to indicate by wearing them? The most specifically Christian variant of these crosses is the "Cross of the resurrection". This cross, which has appeared in recent years, has a bright figure of Christ visible in its centre. It is most often worn by young people who belong to Christian youth groups.

Two young girls wearing a "Cross of resurrection" on a chain around the neck. Photo: Anders Gustavsson, 2006.

Even when death has struck, revival families consider it important that expressions of their Christian faith can be expressed on gravestones as professions of belief aimed at visitors to the cemetery. This applies both to texts and pictorial symbols, and among these is the "Cross of the resurrection" encircled by rays of light. The texts on such gravestones often have a biblical origin and emphasize the resurrection of the dead. Among the most used is a passage taken from John 11: 25. Jesus said:

I am the resurrection and the life; he that believeth in me, though he were dead, yet shall he live.

A "Cross of resurrection" on a gravestone in Rönnäng over a couple who were prominent Pentecostalists on the island of Åstol. They were my informants when I wrote on this movement there (see chapter 6). Photo: Anders Gustavsson.

Clearly expressed Christian symbols and texts on gravestones have become much more common, generally speaking, in Norway than in Sweden in recent years. This may be because a larger number of individualistic and worldly pictorial motifs are used on Swedish than on Norwegian gravestones, but may also be the result of more tangible secularization in Sweden, in the sense that spiritual dimensions are no longer expressed in ways that are visible to others.

The perception of divine beings by the people in my compiled material relates especially to angels and, in some cases, to Jesus. The Swedish ethnologist Katarina Lewis conducted an extensive study of the intra-church revivalist movement known as Schartauanism in the twentieth century. She noted several examples of women that stated that they had experienced visitations by angels, especially during difficult periods of their lives (Lewis 1997). Visions of Jesus have been reported to have occurred during intense revival meetings, among them in the Pentecostal congregation on the island of Åstol in the late 1940s. Reports of these happenings, such as when

A ghost on the little island Gåsö cries out that he is freezing and wants his clothes back, to the dismay of the man and the woman standing to the right. Painting by Carl Gustaf Bernhardson. Bohuslän Museum, Uddevalla no. 225.

local fishermen saw Jesus approach them on the seas, have been passed on over the years. This has provided a feeling of security and assistance in difficult situations. One of Katarina Lewis´ informants spoke of something similar during a crisis she experienced:

> I felt so weak after my last child was born. I just couldn't go on. It was just no use. What would happen to the children? Then I saw someone standing at the foot of the bed. It was Jesus. Then I was able to sleep. Then I could rest.

God is considered to make himself known in a different way than Jesus, and to impart messages. One informant who belonged to the Swedish Mission Society told of how he suddenly saw a golden message one night above his bed (see chapter 8). Ghosts are among those beings from the evil and sorrowful part of existence that make themselves known, in keeping with the dualistic understanding of the world

then prevalent. Along the coast they are referred to as "specters", the unhappy corpses of those that have not been buried in sanctified ground and therefore can be heard screaming in the night. This folk belief, which was very common among the older generation of members of revival groups, was not seen as being in conflict with a living and active Christian faith (see chapter 8). Such experiences were openly spoken of with fellow believers. The folk-life artist Carl Gustaf Bernhardson (1915-1998) painted several pictures of ghosts and "specters" searching for their clothing after it had disappeared when wreckage was gathered up.

The artist believed that he had visions of a different world than that which can be observed with ordinary eyes. In comparison, an informant who was an active member of the free-church movement, the Swedish Mission Society, stated that he could see people that had died many years ago, but that they had never been among the actively faithful. He sometimes experienced these visions while he walked to or from the mission meeting house. He never kept these visions secret, but often spoke about them to other members of the mission society. With regard to such supernatural visions, one might quote something that the Norwegian folklorist Bente Gullveig Alver said concerning a study entitled "The Third Eye", about a clairvoyant Norwegian woman: "It would be more unscientific to deny clairvoyance than to be receptive to its existence" (Alver 1982: 35). The cultural scholar should always listen when informants speak about their experiences, rather than discuss whether these are real or fictitious. The study of the aspect of faith involved is far more important than any attempt to analyze the possible reality on which these experiences might be based.

Hearing

Hearing refers partly to that which people hear with their ears and partly to that which they believe they hear from a supernatural world.

Hearing with one's ears can refer to the religious upbringing that one has been exposed to in the home by the parental generation. The folk-life artist Carl Gustaf Bernhardson painted a picture showing his grandmother reading the morning prayer for her grandchildren (see the front cover).

Daily instruction of this kind in the home of times past can often be found in the records of folk-life archives. Revival movements often unite a spiritual dimension and material objects in a very factual manner. Women who gathered to sew and knit for charitable purposes and for the missions, for example, usually had one or more of their company read aloud from a devotional book.

Songs and music are also included in the aspect of hearing. These have always played a prominent part in the free churches of both the western Swedish and south-

The women of the Swedish Mission Society sewing group in 1894 on the island of Smögen making items for mission work while one of the older women reads from the prayer book. Photo privately owned.

ern Norwegian coastal regions. Groups of vocalists and musicians were formed and traveled about to different districts in order to spread the Christian message. Young men living in coastal districts often started such groups. Among these were, for example, the Åstol brothers, the Dyrön Brothers, and the Skärhamn Brothers. The songs and music presented by these groups have alternated with personal testimonies witnessing the importance of the Christian faith for each and every one of the members. The fact that listening to songs and music has adopted new expressions in our own time can be exemplified by the Christian motor clubs that have grown up in recent years. The Street Gospel motor club, which is active on the western Swedish islands of Orust and Tjörn, was started in the summer of 2005. This motorcycle club is not a church group, but a society open to all true believers, both women and men. Most of the leaders have a background in the Pentecostal movement. The motor club's aim is to have its members travel around on their motorcycles and spread the Christian message to the general public through their music and vocal presentations. Their music is modern and very loud, as I observed during my field studies.

The Street Gospel motor club performing songs and music during their appearance on the island of Orust in the summer of 2006. Photo: Agneta Nienhardt.

I also wish to mention my informants' reports of hearing voices from an invisible world. This has often occurred during times of crisis and danger; for example, when fishermen and sailors have been warned about approaching storms. These have usually been experienced as well-meaning and divine voices, but there have been instances of evil voices originating in the world of the devil. One elder (born in 1922) in the Pentecostal congregation at Åstol in the province of Bohuslän recalled hearing his father (1893-1960), also a congregation elder, speak of a warning that he had been given while at sea. This warning had saved the crew of the fishing boat and was perceived as having been sent by God (see chapter 8). One can easily understand that the dangers of the open sea have formed a basis for such warnings, and these are also found in the folk beliefs of former times. Carl Gustaf Bernhardson painted pictures showing "warners", who appear as bright figures to someone walking on the ice just as it is about to break under his feet, or when storms are approaching out at sea.

The informant from Åstol also spoke about how he had experienced a voice from the Almighty around 1970 (se chapter 8). In some cases, such voices are considered to have come from angels. One informant, who was born in 1904 and who belonged to the Swedish Mission Society, told how he had had several experiences of waking at night and hearing voices that passed on comforting messages to him when he lay

A "warner" walking alongside a man in the centre of the picture and pulling him in a different direction than the way he had planned to go. Painting by Carl Gustaf Bernhardson. Bohuslän Museum, Uddevalla no. 032.

ill. This informant received this message while in a very trying condition (see chapter 8).

Touch

The touching of objects or people has come to play a peripheral role within the protestant church when compared to the former Catholic period. One can simply consider, for example, the formal disappearance of holy water. Among ordinary people, however, popular customs of touch continued without the official sanction of the church. The Swedish ethnologist Nils-Arvid Bringéus gave an excellent example of such traditional usage in his study of the false churching of women that had miscarried. These

women attempted as unobtrusively as possible to catch hold of the back of the vicar's robe as he was carrying out some official action, such as a burial. According to popular belief, the women would then be healed. This custom is based on a medieval ritual that has its origin in the New Testament narrative in Matthew 9: 20-22. According to this account, a woman who suffered from continual bleeding unobtrusively caught hold of the back of Jesus´ robe and was then cured (Bringéus 1964).

There have even been cases of active members of the free-church movement having suddenly been cured when they had come into contact with a supernatural divine force that has surged through their bodies. This point of view is entirely in keeping with the official doctrine of the free church that emphasizes the importance of seeking and receiving divine faith-healing. The laying-on of hands with accompanying prayers on the part of the congregation can take place in such situations (see chapter 8).

The informant from the Swedish Mission Society, born in 1904, has performed dowsing, or seeking water with a divining rod, and interpreted such activity as getting into contact with something that is everlasting (see chapter 8). He believed that

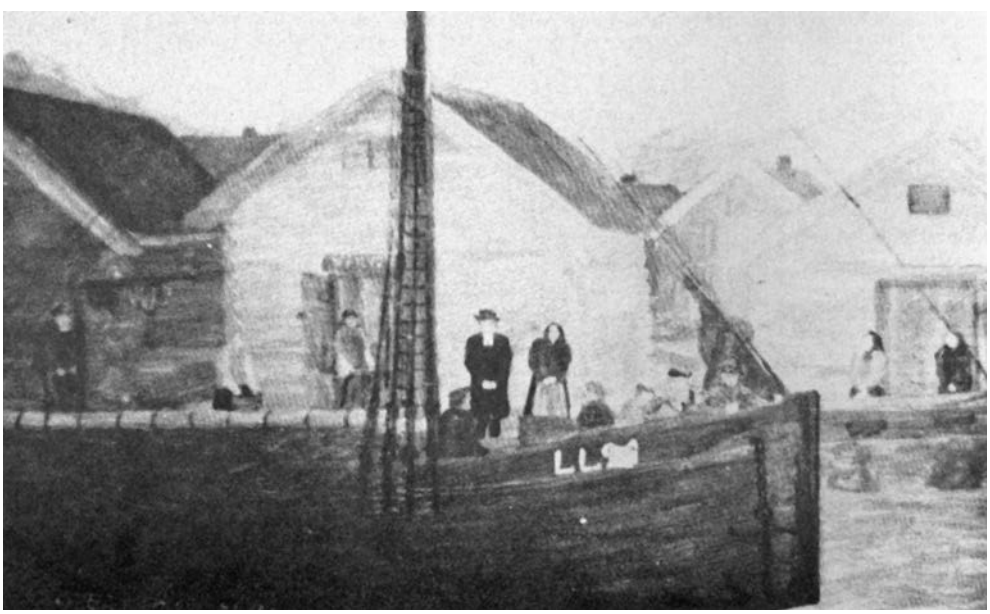
Fishermen making the sign of the cross in the water to protect the fishing grounds and the nets and also to promote successful fishing. Painting by Carl Gustaf Bernhardson. Bohuslän Museum, Uddevalla no. 367.

this was because he had come into contact with forces in the earth that have existed ever since God created man.

When Pentecostals have acquired the gift of speaking in tongues (or glossolalia), they have also spoken of experiencing a supernatural and divine force flowing through them. It has been beyond their control, and their voices became a tool for it. They began speaking a language that they themselves could not understand. This has occurred both in religious meetings and in solitude. One man, who became a member of the Pentecostal congregation in 1939, told of experiencing "a force that's really immense" (see chapter 8).

Touching with a religious implication has also had a protective function against accidents. This has occurred in the coastal districts of western Sweden, which are characterized by both intra-church and free-church revival movements. The folk-life artist Carl Gustaf Bernhardson depicted this in some of his paintings relating to fishing. The fishermen would make the sign of the cross with their hands in the water as they let their lines or nets drop down into the sea. They believed that this prevented any mishaps that might happen to the equipment. This was also thought to promote successful fishing.

Another subject is the fisherman who grasps his anchor chain before sinking it down into the sea in bad weather and says, according to the picture caption, "God give you strength tonight, dear friend". This material object is personified here and, be-



The vicar of the island of Gullholmen saying farewell to the fishermen about to depart for deep-sea fishing grounds in 1939. Painting by Carl Gustaf Bernhardson.

cause of this, is something that can receive help from God. These folk-life paintings are based on the artist's own experiences as a fisherman during the 1930s.

Another explicit way in which people could make contact with the spiritual world was when the vicar or the free-church preacher came down to the harbor just before fishermen from these revivalist coastal districts departed for deep-sea fishing. He was not to go on board because this could bring bad luck, according to traditional folk beliefs, but was to stand on the wharf, say a prayer, and, like the women that remained at home, take the fishermen's hands both as a sign of farewell and as a blessing. Carl Gustaf Bernhardson depicted an incident of this kind in 1939 when he himself was on board a boat about to depart.

One occasion when taking hands occurred in a ceremony in the post-reformation protestant church was during the churching of women who had recently given birth. This took place in the church six weeks after the child was born. This custom continued as long as the ritual of churching itself continued, namely, until the late nineteenth century as a general rule, and in revival families until the early twentieth century (Gustavsson 1972). At the end of the ceremony, the vicar took the woman that had just become a mother by the hand and uttered the words: "May the Lord be with you in His truth and fear, from now and throughout eternity! Amen". The common folk considered this to be a blessing, and it was precisely this blessing for the future

The vicar of the church in Varberg in the province of Halland taking a new mother by the hand after having read the prayer "A Mother's Thanksgiving" for her in 1971. Photo: Hallandsbild, Tony Malmqvist.

that women who had miscarried hoped to receive by grasping the vicar's robe (see above).

In our own times, the grasping of hands has returned to the church, or rather to high-church and ritualistically oriented groups, in a new way through the revival of the ancient rite of peace. When the vicar utters the words, "May the peace of the Lord be with you", the members of the congregation take each other by the hand and repeat, "The peace of the Lord". The former ritual of making the sign of the cross during christening ceremonies has reappeared in recent years. The vicar touches the child's body and says, "I make the sign of the cross on your forehead, your mouth, and your heart" (cf. Bringéus 2005). During confirmation ceremonies, there have been several instances in recent years of the vicar, the assistants, and the closest relatives forming a circle around each young person being confirmed and placing their hands on his or her head and offering prayers. This is understood by many people as a rite of blessing for the young person's future.

Recital of prayers with the laying of hands on the head of a newly confirmed youth. The ceremony was performed by the vicar, the assistants, and the young person's closest relatives at the parish building in Åh in western Sweden in the summer of 2006. Photo: Anders Gustavsson.

At sports events, I have observed soccer players making the sign of the cross on their chests before the start of a match. This is seldom done by Swedish- or Norwegian-born players, but very often by foreign professional players that have come to Scandinavia from predominantly Catholic countries, such as Brazil. It will be interesting to see if this new custom also begins to inspire Norwegian- and Swedish-born players in the future. This can then be considered either a religious act or a rite of superstition before the start of the match. One should remember that many of these foreign players are models or idols for young soccer fans today, and that they can thus become sources of inspiration.

Taste

The consumption of food and drink with a pronounced religious aim has never played a prominent role in the popular religion of the Lutheranism-dominated areas of Sweden and Norway. The aspect of consumption is primarily linked to the rite of Communion, which takes place within the context of the mass in church. In recent years, serving coffee and cakes immediately after the church service has become more frequent in many places in Sweden. Such events do not, however, have any religious function, but are purely social in character and offer the worshippers a chance to meet on a personal basis. Their conversation does not usually have a religious content.

In past times, all meals were preceded and followed by prayers (see chapter 2), a subject that has been thoroughly discussed by Nils-Arvid Bringéus (Bringéus 1997). This custom has, however, lessened or completely vanished in connection with the increasing rise in the individualization of religion. Another ancient custom that has vanished consisted of the mourners at a funeral drinking a glass of wine just before the coffin was taken to the church and the cemetery. This lived on into the twentieth century, primarily in those districts of western Sweden characterized by the intra-church revival movement known as Schartauanism. After the reformation, this was practiced in memory of the deceased. The custom had no religious content; in other words, in contrast to medieval times, when toasts were drunk in honor of God and the saints. The modern memorial toasts are of interest in this connection solely because they took place in the context of a religious church funeral during which the vicar or a highly placed layman proposed a toast with the words “We drink this wine to honor the memory” or “We raise our glasses in memory of the deceased”. This took place after the vicar led prayers and before the mourners left the deceased’s home (Gustavsson 1980).

During my investigation of symbols on gravestones in Norway and Sweden, I found indications of food only on a few immigrants’ graves. This was, for example, the case in 2001 when plates of fresh apples and oranges were placed in front of the

gravestone of a Chinese woman who was born in 1947 and died in Sweden in 1992 (Gustavsson 2003: 46). Outside the protestant regions of Scandinavia, however, similar phenomena can be found, especially in orthodox regions. The Finnish ethnologist Nils Storå studied memorial meals arranged on relatives´ graves by the Orthodox Skolt Sami of Finland. He wrote:

> The main element in these commemorative feasts is the meal in memory of the dead man, in which he also takes part. On the occasion of collective feasts of remembrance, all the family's dead take part (Storå 1971: 270).

In connection with a world congress of folklorists in 2005 in Tartu, Estonia, I had an opportunity to conduct fieldwork among the Orthodox Setu people in southeast Estonia. Many religious ceremonies were reestablished and revitalized in this region after Estonia's independence from the USSR in 1991. I participated in an important religious holiday in the town of Saatse near the Russian border during the summer of 2005. There I experienced the deceased's next of kin, both younger and older persons, placing meals on graves.

A family of Setu people gathered for a commemorative meal at their relatives' graves during the holiday of Päätnitsapäev (Elijah's Friday) in the summer of 2005 in the town of Saatse in southeast Estonia. Photo: Anders Gustavsson.

Such meals were arranged on a large number of graves. Tables were often laid on the graves, on which both food and drink, especially vodka, were placed. It was not difficult to understand that this was a festive occasion. Although the participating clergymen conversed with me in German, I could not speak directly to the laymen among the Setu people, but had to rely on an Estonian interpreter. The hospitality of the participants was very evident and also involved the unknown fieldworker, who visited several graves. My interpreter and I were offered food, desserts, and drink, both vodka and soft drinks. I was, however, more interested in documenting, conversing with, and taking photographs than in eating and drinking, ignorant as I was about the cultural codes present at the scene. Both the clergymen and my interpreter pointed out that I had to accept whatever was offered to eat and drink because refusing the people's hospitality would be considered an insult (cf. *ISFNR Newsletter* 2006, no. 1: 22). Accepting this hospitality was considered to honor both those that offered and the deceased by whose grave one stood. On such occasions, festivity and joy characterize the living at the same time as they experience solidarity through time in relationship to their deceased relatives.

Smell

Incense is the only subject that can be substantiated in my collected material that has any religious meaning associated with the sense of smell. Incense disappeared after the reformation, but has begun to emerge once again in ritually oriented religious groups, such as the Ansgar student church in Uppsala, Sweden.

Summary

This chapter has demonstrated that sight and hearing have played the most important roles in the protestant regions of Scandinavia that I have studied. In many instances, the phenomena linked to sight and hearing have been maintained for long periods of time, and new phenomena have come into existence in other respects. This has taken place within the religious revival movements that have sprung up outside the official state church since the late nineteenth century. The revival movements have wavered between maintenance of traditions and a regeneration that would enable them to awaken interest among new generations.

Senses other than sight and hearing have not had the same importance in the post-reformation period. This chapter has, however, indicated that touch has played a more important role than previously realized by scholars of cultural history. A regeneration

in these respects has also taken place within the Swedish church, which was separated from the state in 2000. Through increased ritualization and growing activation of the members of the congregation, the sense of touch has acquired greater importance, something that has had special appeal for young people. Taste and smell, on the other hand, have not yet acquired the same importance as touch, even if taste has acquired a new social function in a religious context. The sense of smell, in the form of incense, can acquire increased importance in correlation with a growing ritualization of religious activities.

Translation: Jean Aase

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5
Religious Contacts in Swedish-Norwegian Border Regions

This chapter will discuss the importance of religion in encounters between Swedes and Norwegians in different situations during the twentieth century, seen from a male and a female perspective. The basis of the account is two Scandinavian research projects in which I have taken part. These projects are on the one hand the "Kattegat/Skagerrak project", which dealt with the development of culture and cultural meetings along the coasts of the straits of Kattegat and Skagerrak (P. Holm 1991, cf. Slettan 1992), on the other hand a border project, "The Cultural Meetings of the Border", which concerns areas around the southern part of the Norwegian-Swedish border in the north of Bohuslän, the west of Dalsland and Østfold (*Gränsmöten* 1999).

I have noticed in the rest of Europe as well, that issues concerning borders, border contacts, border conflicts and border regions are attracting more and more attention in research in the humanities and the social sciences. The role of religion in connection with the creation of new borders that has taken place during the twentieth century, is becoming a challenging field of research, and is especially topical in Eastern Europe (e.g. Elsas 1995). This became obvious to me during an exchange trip to Estonia in 1996. In Estonian ethnology there has been a documentation of the renewal of the religious ceremonies and festivities among the Setu people, a Finno-Ugrian people with a Greek Orthodox religion in the most southeastern part of Estonia. Up until the Second World War the southeastern part of Estonia's border followed a more eastern route towards Russia. The border was moved to the west during the Soviet era and thus divided the central area of the Setu people in two. This did not mean so much during the Soviet era when the borders were open. The new borderline has however had severe consequences after Estonia's independence in 1991. The important cemeteries, as well as the main town, Petseri, lie just east of the current border. The cemeteries constitute the meeting-place for the religious ceremonies and the meals which take place close to the family graves (see chapter 4). Since a fee has been imposed on border crossing and the border has become more complicated to cross after 1991, it has become difficult for the Setu people to keep in touch with their brothers and sisters on the other side of the border, and to maintain and renew the religious ceremonies which have become more important in a new situation. The problems of the border become especially obvious when the earlier territory of an

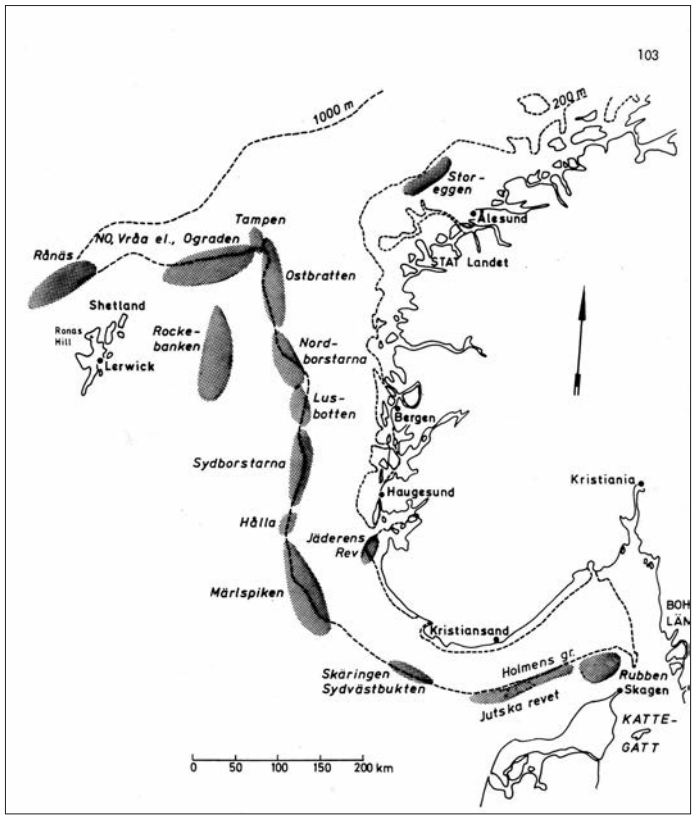
ethnic group is divided by a national border and, furthermore, when the border becomes more or less closed.

The Sea that Divides and Unites

Swedish Fishermen in Norwegian Ports

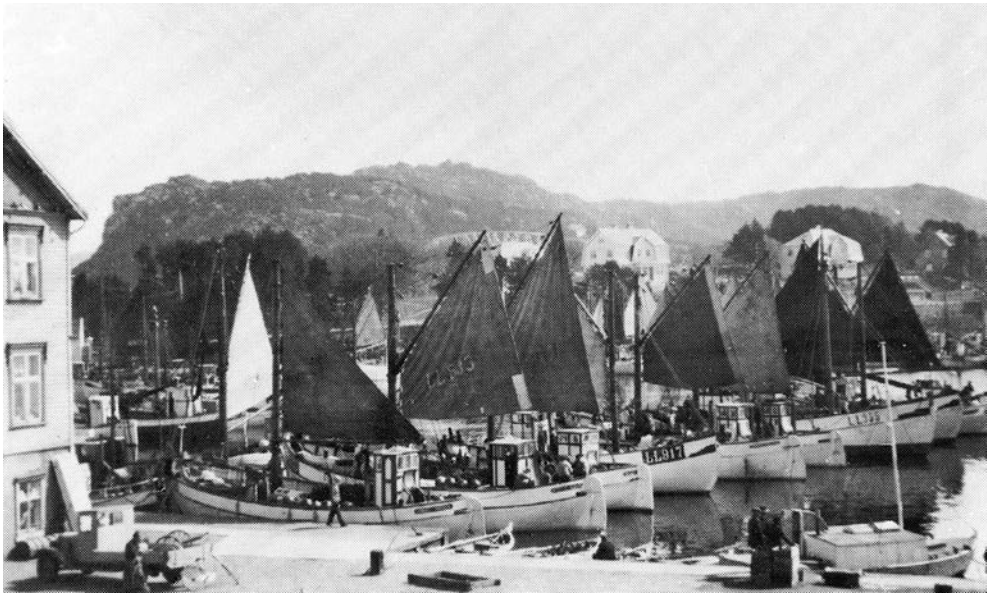
Let us return to the Swedish-Norwegian border conditions. The border consists on the one hand of the sea, the Kattegat-Skagerrak, and on the other hand of a very long land border. First, I will look into the importance of the sea as something dividing and uniting, from a religious perspective and with the emphasis on the male and the female within mixed marriages.

Map of Kattegat-Skagerrak region.



Banks where the Bohuslän fishermen fished during the latter part of the nineteenth century. From Olsson 1985.

The western Swedish deep-sea fishing in the waters around Shetland and later Iceland became considerable from the 1860s onwards. On the way to and from the fisheries, the fishermen called at south- and west-Norwegian ports from Kristiansand and farther west. The men were then outside the religious and social control of their home towns. The free churches could, however, construct a reporting system by means of which members of the congregation were enjoined to report to the congregation after the return home, concerning other members' negative actions. Such actions could include, for example, the consumption of alcohol or the smuggling of liqour to Iceland where alcohol prohibition was in force. The suspects had to undergo an interrogation by the leaders of the congregation, and could be excluded if they did not repent and ask for forgiveness. There was, in other words, a definite possibility of exercising a religiously motivated control of the norms, even if the men were outside the closest surroundings which were easier to survey (see chapter 9). This particular control could be maintained while fishermen from the same community worked together out



Fishing boats from Smögen and Kungshamn in the Norwegian harbour of Farsund in 1933. Photo privately owned.

at sea and in foreign ports. It was a question of whether they could trust one another and how loyal they were to the peer-pressure of the congregation. At the same time the men had more freedom when they were at sea or in foreign ports, than the women in the home town.

The Swedish fishermen were invited to and also participated in a wide range of religious activities during their stays in Norwegian ports, particularly by the Salvation Army. Men who in Sweden did not attend meetings arranged by free churches outside the Swedish State Church also went there. Here they were not as subject to the control which was manifested in their home towns. One consequence of this encounter with other religious movements, with which they had no contact in Sweden, was that men in the coastal towns of Bohuslän were more receptive to new religious movements than the women in the home towns. This openness towards free religious movements was contradictory to the upbringing the fishermen had received from their mothers and the preachers within the intra-church revival movement in the Swedish State church which is named Schartauanism (after the priest Henric Schartau, Lund 1757-1825). The priests noticed that the men came to represent other, more liberal opinions than the women after their stays in Norway. The Pastor in Rönnäng on the island of Tjörn, wrote in his report to the bishop in 1895, that when the soldiers of the Salvation Army arrive in their boat "the men, when they are at home, are so tolerant, following the example from Norway, that they do not drive the boat away", but "more

sensible women are ashamed to run after traveling, so-called preachers, contrary to the men's example" (Church Archives of Rönnäng). One informant, born in 1922, in the Schartauan influenced fishing village Grundsund, stated that his father had told him that during the first decades of the twentieth century, he did not dare to tell his wife and other women in the community that he had attended the meetings of the Salvation Army in Norwegian ports.

The Swedish men were impressed by the singing at the Salvation Army, but also by the fellowship and care for other people, including outsiders, which they met. They were included instead of excluded in a new environment. A woman from Edshultshall, born in 1914, told that her father

> belonged to the State Church, but that he had high regards for the Salvation Army, for he had been out in the ports. And he said it was because of the work they did. In that respect the State Church is behind, he always said.

With these Salvation Army meetings the Swedish fishermen came into contact with several Norwegian women, something that contributed to attracting them to the meetings. Some fishermen started courting women whom they had met at the Salvation Army meetings. The religious activities were an important part of the fishermen's leisure-time activities when they stayed in port. A fisherman born in 1915 on the island of Smögen stated:

> The Salvation Army was full of life, especially in Flekkefjord. We often had lengthy delays in Flekkefjord in the '30s because of storms. There was nothing else to do but to visit the Salvation Army.

Numerous Swedish fishermen were obviously also religiously converted, even if the religious meetings exerted a strong attraction due to the social community which could be found there. Several of them have agitated for the new free-church faith in the twentieth century in their respective home towns along the Swedish western coast. They have received these impulses in Norwegian ports or in other ports. The Pastor in Rönnäng wrote in his report to the bishop in 1927:

> Fishermen from the congregation, who during their journeys have visited England, Denmark, Norway and other countries, returned and were especially active on behalf of the Pentecostal movement (Church Archives of Rönnäng).

What is of principal interest is that the men were religiously influenced during their journeys and then agitated for the new conviction in their home town. The free-church

revivals in the coastal villages in Bohuslän have, in fact, started due to impulses that the fishermen had received in Norwegian or British ports.

Swedish fishermen have not, however, simply received but have also exercised religious influence, in this case on behalf of the free church, in Norwegian ports. There are reports of revivals at different occasions, for instance after the Second World War, when the fishing industry enjoyed a great expansion and the Swedes played an important part. The newspaper of the Swedish Pentecostal movement *Dagen,* wrote on 25 April, 1951:

> There is a revival among the fishermen from Bohuslän, who are located in Egersund in Norway to fish herring, explains the skipper Charles Olofson on Öckerö, for the correspondent from Dagen. A large part of the fishing fleet from Bohuslän has recently been located outside the Norwegian coast, trawling for herring, but because of the bad weather they have been forced to spend a lot of time in port. The converted men within the fishing community have, however, not been idle, but used the time for winning their fellow colleagues for God. ... They have gone from one boat to the other and invited their friends to meetings that have been held in a building which belongs to the Pentecostal congregation. A lot of people have gathered there, both Swedes and Norwegians, so all seats have been

A wedding in Grundsund on 21 July 1942. The bride was born in the Norwegian town of Egersund in 1920. To the right of the groom, his two sisters, his mother and a neighbouring girl. The bride's Norwegian relatives and friends were not allowed by the Nazi regime to come to the wedding during the ongoing war. Photo privately owned.

> used. During these typical laymen's meetings, the believing fishermen sing and confess in their simple and refreshing way, and they have become a blessing. Most members in the congregation in Egersund have been seized by the spirit of contrition and purification, and have met God to powerful renewal.

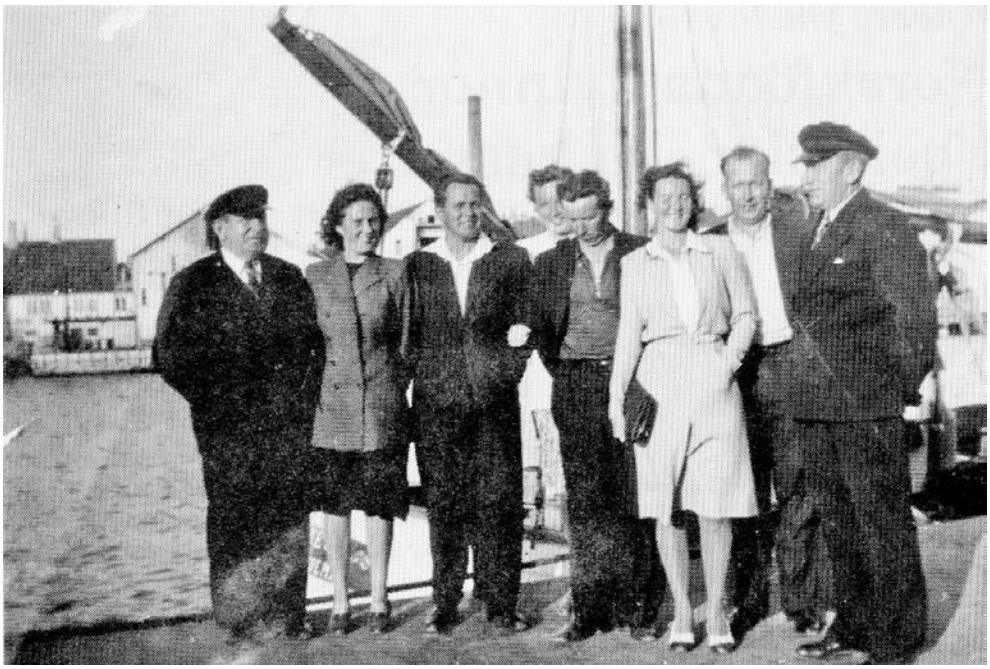
Norwegian newspapers have also written about similar revival campaigns in which free-church fishermen from Sweden have played a prominent role. In the newspaper "Romsdalsposten" the following headline was found in 1968: "The fishermen filled the hall of the Salvation Army in Kristiansund to bursting. Swedish trawl fishermen actively involved in the programs".

Norwegian-born Women married into West Swedish Fishing Villages

Several Norwegian women from working-class homes in Norwegian coastal towns came to marry into the fishing villages in Bohuslän, as a result of Swedish fishermen's visits to Norwegian ports, especially during and after the Second World War. This is the period of time which I will emphasize here. The Swedish fisheries outside the Norwegian southern and western coast were extensive during the 1930s, but they ceased later on during the war. The women moved to Sweden in connection with their marriages after having been engaged for a while in Norway before the Second World War. The marriage ceremonies took place in Norway, but during the Second World War they had to take place in Sweden since at that time the men were not allowed to come to Norway. The women had to submit applications and undergo strict interrogations and examinations as to whether they were of Jewish origin, before they were allowed to leave Norway. The matter was simplified if the woman had been engaged to a Swedish man before the war.

In this context I would like to shed light on the adaptation process, from the religious aspect, which took place when these women came to Sweden, far away from their south- or west-Norwegian hometowns. How was the acclimatization accomplished? What kind of difficulties did the Norwegian women experience? What kind of conflicts could arise, and to what extent did the religious beliefs and norm systems contribute to this? I will here place particular emphasis on the religious aspect, even though several factors might have been influential.

I base my presentation mainly upon interviews with the immigrant women and their husbands, as well as certain of their children. I want to exemplify by using both a schartauan fishing village, Grundsund, just south of Lysekil, and free-church influenced coastal fishing villages on Tjörn, such as Klädesholmen. Such migration has always gone from Norway to Sweden during the twentieth century when it comes to marriages with Swedish fishermen.



A woman in light-coloured dress, born in 1920, in the harbour of the Norwegian town of Haugesund, just after the end of the Second World War in 1945. She was on her way to the fishing village Klädesholmen together with the crew on a fishing boat from there. Photo privately owned.

The contact which the immigrant women from Norway had with the coastal population was mainly with the women from Bohuslän, since the men, were away on long fishing expeditions during the summer season lasting 6–8 weeks at a time. The women had actually learnt to assume a strong position in the fishing villages when the men were away for a large part of the year (Gustavsson 1986, Thorsen 1993).

The women who moved to Grundsund met Schartauanism, the intra-church revival movement, in a palpable way. Within the movement they emphasized the priest's authority and deprecated layman preaching. The movement, which has never been strictly organized, was supported by women and grew strong in several places in Bohuslän during the latter part of the nineteenth century (cf. Lewis 1997). Schartauanism would not have flourished for so long, had it not had this stronghold among all these women in the coastal villages. Thanks to the women, Schartauanism was passed on from one generation to the next, once it was established, because it was mainly the women in the coastal villages who were responsible for educating the children while the men were away. So they imprinted their views and norms on the new generations. Stories about free-church preachers trying to make their way into parishes of Schartauan

The clergyman's visit in a home on a workday. It was a solemn occasion for the women. Painting by Carl Gustaf Bernhardson. Privately owned.

character, tell how the women were the most averse to the new thinking, but also very loyal to the minister. The new ideologies were regarded as false doctrines. When a definite ideology such as Schartauanism had taken root it was difficult for other ideologies to gain ground within the same area, mainly due to the firm action of the women.

Ideological antagonisms have been documented by several immigrant women. They noticed a great difference in religious issues and expressed resistance from the native women compared to what they were used to. One woman, born 1911 in Egersund, had during her years in Norway attended the services in the State church as well as meetings in the Salvation Army and the "chapel" which belonged to the Home Mission. She had been particularly active in the Salvation Army where she also met her husband in 1936. Her husband's female relatives knew about her commitment to the Salvation Army when she came to Grundsund in 1938, and assumed

a very cold attitude towards her because of this. These were women who held the opinion that the priest's preaching in church according to the Schartauan model was the only right one, and that everything else was delusion. The Salvation Army did not have regular activities in Grundsund because of the strong resistance to free churches that came with such an attitude. Traveling Salvationists could, however, come to visit. The immigrant woman tells that when she had invited a couple of Salvationists for a cup of coffee in her house, "my husband's aunt came afterwards and scolded me so it didn't look like anything. She didn't talk to me for six months after that". Religious ideology was so basic that it marked everyday life, namely who you associated with. Religion and everyday life were closely connected. One distanced oneself from the unknown as something dangerous. The immigrant women formed the threatening "Others" against whom one should be on one's guard. They felt forced to express this since religion played such a central role. The informant was both very surprised and upset about the deprecatory behaviour which she experienced: "Here the only thing that had any value was the church. Anything else was false doctrines and wrong teachings".

The woman's husband, who was born in 1905 in Grundsund, decidedly took her side towards his female relatives. This shows that the husband could end up in a loyalty conflict between his wife, who had a completely different frame of reference, and his close relatives. This sort of thing was not so easy to handle in a coastal town where you lived close to each other. In this case the husband allowed the Salvationists to spend the night in the house and his motivation was that he had had so many positive experiences at Salvation Army meetings in other ports. The informant was of the opinion that "the women here in town have always been strange concerning everyone in the free church. But those are the ones who have stayed here in town all of their lives and never been out into the world". The local fishing village is the frame of reference for the women, and what is well-known and safe. Due to their not having any previous knowledge of outside customs, these could be experienced as a threat. By defending the status quo the women could feel secure. Thus it was a question from the beginning of demonstrating a vigorous opposition to what the new immigrant women represented. The men, on the other hand, have gained a wider frame of reference through their contacts with the world outside.

That there was an ideological conflict that had nothing to do with the nationality of the immigrated women, is illustrated when an informant stated the following about a woman from the city of Gothenburg, who was a member of the Pentecostal movement and who married a fisherman from Grundsund during the 1940s: "They hated her like the plague here". A fisherman's wife, born in 1861 in Grundsund, reported in 1947: "No one has gone to listen to those 'free-preachers'. Everyone had the words of God at home and a correct teacher in church" (Church History Archives of Lund,

nr 1994). The fact that the women in Grundsund spent all of their time in their home village, and contrary to the men did not undertake any longer journeys, might have contributed to the opinion that the Schartauan religious ideology was the only true one. News coming from the outside felt threatening to them, since they had not been away and met other sets of values. The more deeply rooted the religious impression was in the women, the more important they felt it was to show rejection towards that which was different. Through keeping and guarding that which is everlasting, they could feel safe. Therefore it was important to show a strong resistance from the beginning. Compromises and adjustment felt like something dangerous. The women at the coast of Bohuslän feared that people from outside would bring new ways of thinking which might threaten traditional norms and views and might undermine their dominance.

The Norwegian-born woman encountered the same kind of negative attitudes as before from her husband's female relatives and other native women in her surroundings when she sent her children to a Sunday school in the early 1940s that a few Pentecostalists had started in Grundsund. She let the children continue to go to the Sunday school organized by the Pentecostalists, however, since she had found a close friend in a woman who had moved there from the town of Uddevalla and who was a Baptist. "We became the best of friends. Our faith united us". Similarity concerning a divergent religious ideology united those who did not join the dominant ideology, whether the women had moved there from Norway or from other places in Sweden. Religious ideology, even in a different form, thus became something which united those who deviated from the dominating faith as well. One can talk about a majority culture represented by the native women and tendencies to a deviating minority culture represented by immigrant women with a different religious background.

Another way for the Norwegian-born women to characterize themselves as a cultural unity was through gathering within the same coastal village and finding an alternative community with each other. In those cases it was an advantage that several women who migrated from Norway at more or less the same time, were about the same age and came from similar backgrounds religiously and socially speaking, even if they did not know each other before. Courage and unity were necessary to stand up against the pressure in the new environment. Earlier conflicts have lived on since the Norwegian-born women have found each other, joined together and had the kinds of anti-cultural activities which they had socialized into and appreciated. The adaptation process slowed down by and by even if the adjustment could not be stopped.

The above-mentioned Norwegian-born woman stopped having contacts with the Salvation Army after a while because of the social pressure. She started to engage in the choir of the Swedish church in Grundsund instead. Then she began to be more positively treated by women in her surroundings. This example shows that religious

Six Norwegian-born women who were married to husbands from Grundsund during and around the Second World War. Photo: Kristina Gustavsson, 1989.

ideology, such as Schartauanism, had the power to unify the religious behaviour in those who moved in from the outside. Uniformity enhanced the feeling of safety and control over the situation where they lived.

Another sign that the adaptation has happened gradually is that the following generation, the children of the immigrant women, have not found reasons for keeping up the alternative community which their mothers established. But the daughter of the Norwegian-born woman, who was born in Grundsund, says at the same time that she herself experienced religion through her father's aunt (deceased in 1976) as well as through her Norwegian-born mother. This resulted in a very divided and complicated relationship with religion for her. It contributed towards her distancing herself from all kinds of religion for a long time. She escaped what she found to be too full of conflicts and too difficult to handle. The religious impression which she had received

through her father's aunt and her mother had, however, been so strong that she later returned to the religious practice and even became a deaconess in the Swedish State Church.

Immigrant Norwegian women have found it easier to get understanding and to feel at home with their religious practices in coastal fishing villages characterized by free churches, like on the island of Tjörn, compared to in Grundsund. This is obvious in narratives told by women who moved from Norwegian Svinør to Åstol or from Langenes close to Kristiansand to Dyrön during the 1940s. The religious ideology was similar in these cases, instead of contradictory as the native women in Grundsund experienced it.

Those Norwegian women who have not been active in any State church or free-church congregation in Norway have, however, in the fishing villages where the free churches were strong, met the same kind of pressurizing from the locals, especially the women, which those engaged in a free church experienced in the villages characterized by Schartauanism. One woman, born in 1917 in Mandal, came to Klädesholmen in 1941, where there was a manifest element of the Baptist faith. During the 1940s and 50s, this woman was repeatedly urged to attend the religious meetings. She was not interested, however, and therefore did not appear to begin with. But she did let her children participate in certain children's meetings during the 1950s. The children otherwise ran the risk of being socially isolated. In the cannery where she worked, she heard that young people from the village preferred not to marry someone from outside the village. She noticed that this was what "the religious most and for the longest time stood up for". To marry someone unknown immediately meant a threat. That kind of marriage could lead to an ideological change which they feared. This is once more an example of how a religious ideology, in this case a free-church ideology, has the power to influence those who came from the outside and represented other perspectives. The external situation was similar in Grundsund and on Klädesholmen in that religion, even if in different shapes, played an important part. Outsiders, whether they were summer guests or people who had moved there, had to acknowledge and respect this if they wanted to adapt and feel at home at all. The dominating ideology was carefully guarded so the natives would not lose control over the situation. Both the immigrants and the summer guests could change the established order of things if they gained influence. They formed the threatening "Others". Because of this the immigrant Norwegian women who rented their houses to summer guests, could establish a special kind of contact with them. Both categories were in a situation of exclusion.

Encounters by a Land Border

The account has so far discussed encounters between Norwegians and Swedes who lived far away from each other with the strait of Skagerrak in between. The men spent time in Norwegian ports and the women married into the fishing villages in Bohuslän. In another research project, "The Cultural Meetings of the Border", we have discussed the contacts around the southernmost part of the Swedish-Norwegian border, from the islands of Koster and Hvaler in the archipelago furthest to the west, across the Idefjord, which is about one kilometer wide, to a land border some way into the west of Dalsland, particularly the railway crossing at Kornsjø and Dals Högen (*Gränsmöten* 1999). What differs from the investigations within the Kattegat-Skagerrak project is the closeness in space between the Norwegians and Swedes who meet in a border region.

Map of the southernmost part of the Swedish-Norwegian border. Drawing: Torill Sand, Oslo.

One important issue is the discovery of a possible and distinctive kind of border culture which stretches out on both sides of the border. In other words, if the border between the countries has not had the same separating function on the local level as it has on a national level, when it comes to politics, economy, legislation about custom administration and trade etc. In a religious perspective it is worth noticing that different books have been used in the schools. Hymn-books, other religious song-books and liturgical handbooks have differed in the two countries. The borderline is a phenomenon that is created from above and which in a particular way interfered with the lives of those who lived near it.

Is there some sort of regional identity, counter to the differences on the national level, which unites people even though the physical border between the countries separates them? How has this border been dealt with by the State authorities and at a local level? What was regulated and what was not, and how have these regulations been adhered to in the everyday life of people? What has religion meant for the experience of such a regional identity?

The border district which has been studied has had particular prerequisites for the exchange of impulses, thanks to the extensive mobility that has existed in the form of work migrations to Norway, trade across the border etc. during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In this context it is particularly interesting to examine how religious contacts were influenced by national tensions, such as in connection with the dissolution of the Swedish-Norwegian union in 1905, or the complete closure of the border in 1940-1945 due to the German occupation of Norway. What consequences did the political conditions, on a national level, have for the local population on both sides of the physical national border?

Free-church Religiosity

One exciting field of research is the free-church religiosity on both sides of the border, and the part which migration and other contacts across the border have played in that context. The intra-church revival movement Schartauanism did not gain a footing in the northernmost parts of Bohuslän, just as the Norwegian intra-church movements Haugianism and the Home Mission did not have a strong position in the most southern parts of Østfold County which borders on Sweden. The free churches gained a certain position here, especially in the Norwegian border town of Halden and in the west of Dalsland on the Swedish side. A Methodist congregation was founded in Halden in 1856, and gained influence on the Swedish side (Martling 1958, Amundsen 1987, 1993). The field lay open for the new free-church revival movements to gain ground at the end of the nineteenth century, since the older, intra-church revival movements were not manifestly established in the border districts. They were, however, more prominent in the west of Dalsland than in the north of Bohuslän where Schar-

tauanism had a restraining effect, even though it was not as strong in the parishes closest to the border as further south. One must also consider the strong element of stonecutters in the border parishes in the north of Bohuslän. They had to a large extent moved in from older stone-mason towns in Blekinge in the south of Sweden, and made themselves known for irreligiousness and resistance to Schartauanism. A certain percentage of them joined free-church movements, such as the Baptist faith, both in Sweden and in Norway. Arne Bugge Amundsen discusses the Norwegian border parish Enningdalen at the end of the nineteenth century and emphasizes that "it looks as if the free churches were the dominating religious organizations outside the official church there" (Amundsen 1987: 123).

It is interesting to measure the extent of cross-border influence brought by itinerant preachers and caused by the Swedish work migration to Norway. On the Norwegian Hvaler Islands a strong revival movement arose as early as the nineteenth century, through the influence of preachers who came from the Swedish border districts (Jensen 1993: 302).

The local historian Gunnar Holm has thoroughly examined several free-church congregations in the border region of Dalsland. He has shown that Swedish visitors in Halden were influenced by the preachings of the Methodist church from the middle of the nineteenth century and onwards. Halden was at that time an important centre for trade in southern and eastern Østfold, but it also played an important part in the north of Bohuslän and the western areas of Dalsland (Forstrøm 1915). Preachers from Norway visited parishes in Dalsland. A mixed choir with both Swedes and Norwegians was formed in connection with a free-church revival in 1885 in the Swedish border parish of Nössemark and the Norwegian parish of Aremark (G. Holm 1981: 27). The intercourse in the local environment on both sides of the border continued during the tensions on the national level around the dissolution of the union in 1905. People had constructed a network in their local surroundings which contradicted political antagonisms. A Swedish preacher who had been active within the Mission congregation in Aremark, told about a huge meeting held in Backen's mission hall in Nössemark in July 1905:

> The strong political tension with anxiety and uncertainty about the future, the strong, powerful wave of revival which passed through great parts of both Norway and Sweden, released a strong spirit of prayer, prayer for the preserving of peace between the sister nations. .... People came from all over Nössemark. They came walking and driving from Dalen, Rävmarken and from Norway. All the way up from Aremark . ... The hall was overcrowded. ... Ludvig Olsson led the meeting. ... I was to represent Norway and the Mission friends from there. I had worked there for a while and was summoned to be their man.

Members of the Swedish Mission Society congregation in Nössemark in 1918. They had many contacts with free-church congregations on the other side of the border. Photo privately owned.

Certain small congregations in the west of Dalsland were periodically united with free-church congregations in Halden. Norwegians and Swedes participated in free-church meetings on both sides of the border. Swedes from the Swedish Mission Society congregations in Dals-Ed and Nössemark came into contact with and were influenced by the preachings of the American preacher Thomas Barratt, as early as 1907 in Halden, when he began the Pentecostal revival in Norway (G. Holm 1976, 1992). A female informant, born in 1928 who lived in Enningdalen and Idd and whose parents belonged to the Pentecostal movement, remembered that Pentecostal preachers from Dalsland came there. The informant also participated in day tours to Pentecostal congregations close to the border in Dalsland together with her parents. The Pentecostal movement, which was established later than the other free churches, also achieved a religious network similar to theirs that stretched across the border. But the free churches did not have a lot of contact with each other, however. This shows that ideological borderlines were more important markers of difference than the physical national border between two countries.

The contact with fellow-believers in Norway continued to be important for the Swedish Mission Society congregation in Nössemark up until the German occupation

A border meeting between Norwegian and Swedish Methodists in the Norwegian border town of Sarpsborg 1 September 1939. That is the day the Second World War began. These Methodists met every other year in Norway and every other year in Sweden. A Norwegian spoke in the morning and a Swedish preacher in the afternoon or the other way around. Photo: Per Asbjørn Hansen, Fredrikstad.

in 1940. The young people came to the meetings not only out of a religious interest, but also for social reasons. They came to meet people, since there was no other significant form of leisure activities except the meetings of the Mission congregation (Olsson 2012).

During the Second World War, the preacher Ludvig Olsson (1865-1948) in 1940 actually got permission to cross the border to Norway to continue his preaching in Norwegian border districts. A pastor in the Pentecostal movement who came to a Norwegian border congregation in Enningdalen in 1942, received a special Norwegian passport which gave him permission to live on the Swedish side of the border where he did some of his work. These free-church preachers formed one of the few exceptions from the more or less completely prohibited border passages.

The contacts across the border decreased markedly or almost ceased after the Second World War, according to several informants. The interruption during the five years of war led the congregations to find new forms of contact with the interior districts of Sweden and Norway respectively. Religious revivals appeared on the

Swedish side during the crisis which people experienced at that time. A woman born in 1919 in Lommeland explained:

> There was a wave when the war started, right. A lot of people became Baptists then up here, since they were scared of the war you know . ... It was the only, the only community then with people during the war, it was, they went to a Baptist meeting. ... Instead of going to parties then, since there were few parties at that time, so they went to Baptist meetings some of them and a lot became converted then.

This shows how the role of the religion can be strengthened in those situations when insecurity is experienced. There is evidence that there was a manifest fear in the Swedish border districts, of Sweden being drawn into the war, especially during the first phase of the war. The various reports received about the horrible conditions on the other side of the border maintained and strengthened the feeling of insecurity. Among these was German confiscation of mission halls to use for accommodation.

There have been few Baptists in the border districts of Bohuslän during the last years. The contacts with the Norwegian neighbouring congregations, that have been more successful in upholding their membership numbers, have therefore become more important.

Mixed Marriages

One important area of research is the many mixed marriages between Swedes and Norwegians in the border districts. Most often Swedish men married into Norway and women from Norway married into the Swedish border regions characterized by agriculture, forestry and also stonemasonry in the early twentieth century. Through interviews conducted by ethnology students, especially on the Swedish side of the border, insight can be gained into the experiences of moving to the other side of the border. There is a clear tendency that ideological, social and cultural differences have not played the important role that they had when working-class daughters from southern and western Norwegian coastal towns with a free-church background moved into fishing villages in Bohuslän where Schartauanism was strong. None moved very far in the border districts. This was especially true of the Norwegian women who married into Sweden. The cultural background was similar thanks to contacts over a long period of time with migration across the border and a long tradition of mixed marriages. That is why a large part of the population has had relatives on both sides of the border. They married mostly within the same social class, such as within farmers' or stonemasons' families, and this has contributed to maintaining social differences, particularly between farmers and stonemasons or between townspeople in Halden

Wedding in Naverstad on the Swedish side of the border river 20 June 1940. The bride came from the neighbouring Norwegian Enningdalen. Her two marriage witnesses were obliged to stop on the Norwegian side of the border. To the right two Swedish policemen. On the Norwegian side there were Nazi policemen in the bushes controlling the wedding ceremony. Photo privately owned.

and provincial people on both sides of the border. Those who married into different regions around the border have stated, for example, that "we feel no border (i.e. national border) here". It is rather relevant to speak of regional cultures, founded on social, cultural and ideological similarities (cf. *Den regionala särarten*, 1994). One may also mention imagined communities, using Benedict Anderson's concept, based on that which people consider they have in common (Anderson 1993). A woman who married into the Swedish region reported that it was "no stranger than moving to another place in Norway". The immigrant women were generally of the opinion that it would have been more difficult for them to adjust to the Swedish life farther away from the border, to an area more strange and unknown, than to the already rather well-known life in what was, relatively speaking, a nearby environment. This corresponds to the fact that Swedish-born informants in the town of Dals-Ed, about twenty kilometers from the Norwegian border, describe themselves as "half Norwegians".

What happened in the religious field when they moved? Religiosity did not have the same strong foothold in this border district in Bohuslän and Dalsland as in the coastal towns in the south and west of Norway or in towns farther north from the border in Østfold county or farther south in Bohuslän. Since religion has not been as important, it has not functioned as a separating force in influencing people's contacts with and fear of outsiders, their religious ideology and way of life. Many men migrated to work in Norway for long periods of time from these border regions also. But since the native women were not as ideologically aware as in the Schartauan and strongly free-church areas in Bohuslän, there were not the same conditions for ideological conflicts between native and immigrant women as in those regions.

Some ecclesiastical customs may differ on a national level between Norway and Sweden. These differences are noticeable in the border regions as well, without threatening the experience of cultural unity. One custom of this kind, according to the interviews, is confirmation, which is a considerably more important event in Norway than in Sweden (cf. Hertzberg Johnsen 1993). The Norwegian member of a mixed marriage often wanted to follow the Norwegian tradition at the confirmation in the Swedish border district. One informant who married into Dals-Ed stated in 1996: "This year we will have a confirmation with Norwegian celebrations afterwards, with a big dinner and friends". Since the people in the border region have so many cultural traits in common, totally seen, they do not have to fear deviations in certain details which differ from the habitual. Conditions for tolerance increase in proportion to the number of common experiences and perspective of life. Then the opposite party is not regarded as being strange and, thus, no longer dangerous to adapt to.

Summary

In this chapter I have illustrated the role of the religion in meetings between Norwegians and Swedes in coastal towns as well as around a national border on land.

When Norwegian-born women moved to western Swedish fishing villages because of marriage, cultural clashes between the newcomers and the native women. Social and cultural differences were the cause of this, not the least of which were religious border lines. National considerations, however, do not seem to have influenced the critical attitude towards the immigrant women. They came from the outside and thereby formed a threat against the normal order. It was possible to indicate the positions of power in the local environment with the help of the religion. But the men differed from the native women in that respect. They had met different perspectives and thereby learnt to take on a more accepting attitude towards deviating religious perspectives through their contacts far away from the well-known local fishing village.

The immigrant women gained particular motivation, in an exposed situation, to keep together and arrange their own anti-cultural activities where they preserved the inheritance they brought with them from Norway.

The Swedish and Norwegian population lived close to each other along the Norwegian-Swedish land border in a different way from in the coastal towns. Cultural differences were particularly insignificant in the regions lying within a certain distance from the border. One may talk about a form of border region which spreads out on both sides of the border. There are regional cultures that are kept together through social and ideological ties which the national border has not managed to destroy. This can be demonstrated in a religious respect by the fact that impulses have crossed the border in both directions during the last century. Swedes have been influenced by the preachings in the Norwegian sector and vice versa. The exchange of religious contacts has strengthened the feeling of a regional identity. When it comes to mixed marriages, one can see that less pronounced differences between the original cultures of the parties led to weaker conditions for conflicts and anti-cultural activities in the new environment to which the newly-married moved.

My account has shown that national borders may contradict cultural, social and ideological borders. How people deal with these borders as ideas and in practice in their everyday life is a challenging field of research in the whole of Europe, where national borders have changed continually, as has been the case in Eastern Europe during the 1990s.

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6
The Pentecostal Movement in a Local Community in Western Sweden. The Process from a Minority to a Dominant Local Culture

From the latter part of the nineteenth century onwards, various religious revival movements grew up in Sweden. By representing other ideologies, norms and ways of life, they broke with earlier religious patterns. Conflicts arose between the new religious movements and the older ones. The development of the new movements at a local level in a long-term perspective has not been the subject of any detailed ethnological study. The most closely connected studies are those by Margareta Balle-Petersen in Denmark (Balle-Petersen 1981) and Juha Pentikäinen in Finland (e.g. Pentikäinen 1975). In many cases, the revival movements have remained minorities in the local milieu, as have the Free Friends in southern Norway (see chapter 7). In other cases, the minorities have been able to grow stronger, so that they have gradually come to dominate the world-view, norms and way of life among a large number of people in the local milieu.

It is just such a process of cultural change from a minority to a dominant cultural position with respect to a revival movement that is the subject of this chapter. This problem area may be applied to many villages along the Swedish west coast from Gothenburg northward. Various revival movements have confronted each other and have supplanted one another here from the second half of the 1800's and onwards. This study was included in the Scandinavian and interdisciplinary Kattegat-Skagerrak project. One of the sub-projects was centred on the development of the revival movements.

What is meant here by revival is that a large number of people become converted in a short space of time and join a religious movement. There is a striking increase in the number of conversions compared with the immediately preceding years. For the "revived" conversion signifies a break with their previous world-view, norms and way of life.

This study concentrates on the Pentecostal Movement, which in Sweden arose as an independent movement in 1913 through a breakaway from the Baptist Church. Later on in the twentieth century it became the largest free church in Sweden. From

the 1920s onwards it gained a foothold in many western Swedish coastal villages (e. g. Odenvik 1957). Studies on the Pentecostal Movement must start at the local level, as the individual congregations are independent. In contrast to other free churches, there is no central governing body at a national level (B. Carlsson 1975, Struble 1982, cf. Holm 1978).

This chapter is an example of a study that has a local congregation as its point of departure. The purpose of the study is to point ahead to studies on revival movements in other local milieux with other social conditions and in other religious denominations. In time, it should then be easier to express an opinion on common patterns in the development of the process undergone by revival movements over a period of time, whether they remained a minority or grew stronger and became a dominant local group.

Central questions are: What takes place during periods of intense revival and what is their origin? In what way do the different revival movements behave over a prolonged period of time within the local community? How does the recruitment of new members take place within the revival movement and how is the falling off of membership counteracted? When and why do periods of recession occur? The first step involves a study of the processes that have taken place, both in periods of expansion and recession; the second an attempt to explain the underlying factors that have governed this development.

Further on a question which must be raised concerns how life at the local level even outside the religious group is affected if a revival movement becomes a dominant group. How do its attitudes and norms permeate community life? In what way must outsiders show consideration towards the dominant group? What sanctions are they otherwise threatened with? How can open conflicts arise in such situations? Or is the antagonism channeled in some other way? It is also important to find out how the reactions of the minority change over time and why.

The study focusses on the coastal village of Åstol (450 inhabitants in 1925, 534 in 1945, 600 in 1956, 500 in 1965, 380 in 1980, 326 in 1990, 257 in 2000 and 170 in 2011) in Bohuslän. Up until the time of the severe fishing crisis in 1968/69 (cf. Lundborg 1975) the community was dominated by fishing (cf. Günther & Sahlén 1974). In 1970 there were 64 fishermen while only ten were left in 1975. After this crisis most of the working population commuted daily or weekly to places of work in Stenungsund or Gothenburg (cf. Boqvist 1979, *Skärgården* 1-2 1979, Sjöholm 2002).

The primary extent of this study is up to 1980, since its aim is to explain the process arising with the start of the Pentecostal congregation in 1923 through its first period as a restricted minority in the local island community, and to its gaining of a majority position both quantitatively and, to an even greater degree, culturally after the dynamic revivals of the late 1940s.

Aerial photograph of Åstol taken in 1934. Photo: Nordic Museum, Stockholm.

After 1980, the number of people moving away from the island increased, and this negative population development was even more intensified during the 1990s and the 2000s. These changes were clearly visible to me when I carried out a renewed period of fieldwork in Åstol in 2011 (cf. Gunnemark 2011). It was then nearly thirty years since my previous visit. It was the younger and more able-bodied citizens who first left the island while the older people remained. The school was shut down in 2005 and by 2011, only five families with children still lived there. During recent years only a limited number of baptisms have been celebrated in the Pentecostal congregation. This has led to a decrease in the membership of the congregation and a markedly constrictive age structure.[1] In addition, the percentage of houses now used as holiday homes has increased from about 20 per cent in 1980 to roughly half of the island's approximately 200 houses. The period of decline covering the successive deterioration of the majority situation is not dealt with in the approach utilized in the present study. The question of the de-populating of the fishing villages combined with an increase in the number of holiday homes constitutes a different problematic that I have investigated in a separate study relating to cultural contacts between the coastal population and visiting summer guests (Gustavsson 2012).

1. The congregation's membership cannot be correlated to the total population of the island after 1980. Firstly, because numerous persons who had moved away kept up their membership in the island's congregation. In 2010, it thus had 146 members of whom only 70 lived permanently on the island. And secondly, there are more people listed in the census records than actually live there. These individuals have a holiday home on Åstol even though their permanent place of residence lies elsewhere. The official population records listed 210 persons in 2010 while the actual number of residents on the island was given as 170.

The material in this study consists of both contemporary sources and interviews. The contemporary information is made up of reports, minutes, rolls of members, account books and annual reports from the Pentecostal congregation and the Evangelical National Missionary Society (EFS), and also articles in both free-church and other magazines. Since its establishment in 1923 the Pentecostal congregation on Åstol has kept careful records of when each member has been admitted by baptism and whether he/she has been excluded or readmitted at a later date. It has thus been possible to illustrate the numerical development by means of diagrams.

The interviews have been carried out with the help of a questionnaire on revival movements that I have drawn up. The gathering of information has been done in collaboration with the folklore collection of the Nordic Museum in Stockholm and The Institute of European Ethnology in Gothenburg, during fieldwork undertaken in the 1980s and completed in 2011. The informants have been asked to provide information both on older revival movements they have heard of and on those they recall themselves. The aim has been to reach different generations within the same family in order to study more effectively the questions on socialization and the handing down of the revival message from one generation to another. Not only representatives of the Pentecostal congregation, Elim, but also members of the religious minority group, EFS, and outsiders belonging to neither congregation were interviewed. Of the outsiders that have lived on Åstol all their lives, many have belonged to EFS or Elim at an earlier date. My observations on present-day conditions during the 1980s and later until today provide additional material to the interviews.

Periods of revival and recession

Early revival movements in Bohuslän

From the middle of the nineteenth century the first revival movement to leave its mark in Bohuslän was that known as Schartauanism, which took place within the State Church (Nelson 1933-1937). It came to play a leading role in many parishes long into the 1900s (Gustavsson 1979, 1980, Lewis 1997). The Parsons acquired a dominating influence in parishes of this type, and in their teaching and sermons they issued strong warnings against the free-church movements which had begun to spring up in a number of villages from the 1870s onwards (Hörmander 1980, Gustavsson 1986).

Free-church movements, principally the Swedish Missionary Society (SMF), which was founded in 1878 after breaking away from EFS (Ekman 1922), gained ground from the end of the 1870s onwards in areas in Bohuslän and the archipelago of Gothenburg where the Schartauan influence had not developed so strongly (e.g. E. Carlsson 1976, Odenvik 1957, Danbratt & Odenvik 1966). The island of Tjörn was

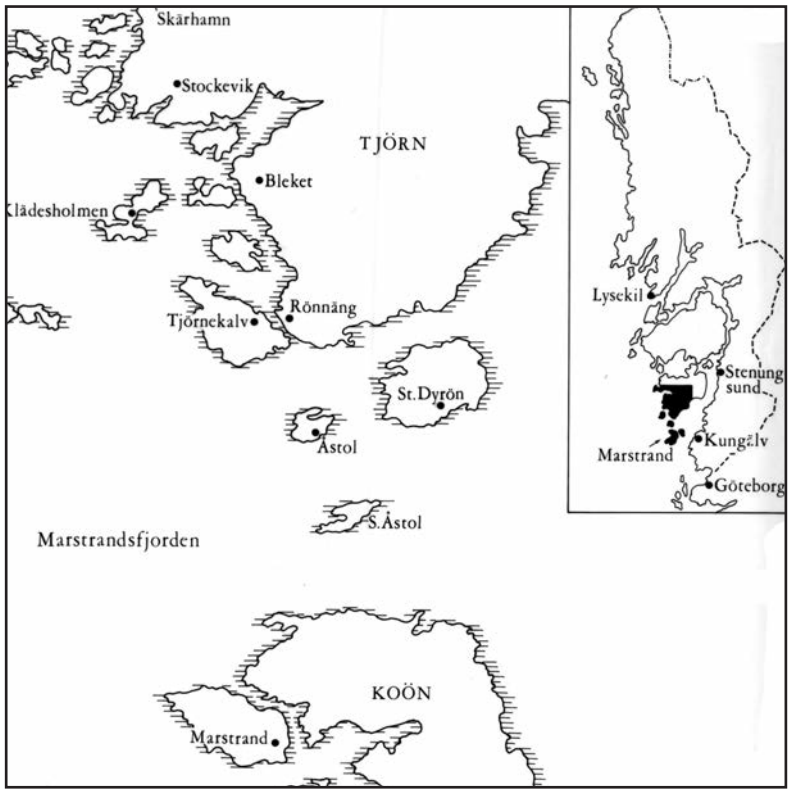
Map of Bohuslän in western Sweden. 1. Parishes where Schartauanism was prominent. 2. Parishes where free churches were prominent.

an early free-church area. In the parishes of Valla, Klövedal and Stenkyrka in the interior of Tjörn, characterized by farming as its chief occupation, missionary societies were established in 1873, 1878 and 1880, and on western Tjörn, to which the fishing villages belong, in 1888 (*Bohusläns missionsförenings minnesskrift* 1909: 66 ff). During the 1890s the Baptists also made a few inroads. They had greater success during the first years of the 1900s. In 1908, notable revival movements sprang up in the two coastal villages of Klädesholmen and Skärhamn and congregations were established in both places (reports in *Närkes-Bladet* 25 February, 19 May, 16 June, and 23 October 1908). The evangelical movement, EFS, founded in Sweden in 1856 on Evangelical-Lutheran grounds and with societies within the Swedish State Church (*Med Gud* 1956), also began to make its mark at this time. This was achieved largely through its youth organization, DUF, which first appeared in Sweden in 1902 (*Boken* 1938).

The first revival movement on Åstol took place in the spring of 1908 when the DUF association was founded, starting with 34 members, all young people (DUF's minutes). After 1908 and 1909 the revival movement stagnated. Very few new members were added until the autumn of 1914, just after the outbreak of the First World War. At that time a new wave of revivalism hit both Åstol and the neighbouring villages of Dyrön and Klädesholmen, as well as Smögen (see chapter 9) further north in Bohuslän. EFS/DUF gained many new members. Some of them have been interviewees. In about 1910 a temperance society was formed, but it was disbanded when the new revival within EFS/DUF took place in 1914, which undermined its recruiting ground (see also chapter 9). Dancing was usual in the temperance society and this was frowned on by the converted. They no longer felt the need for dancing after conversion. They even felt released from their desire for alcohol. This revival continued during the First World War, but then grew weaker.

Pentecostal revival movement in the 1920s

The next, very striking, revival period, unequalled at any earlier time, occurred on



Map of southern Tjörn showing the coastal villages mentioned in the study. Drawing: Hanna Nerman, Lund.

Åstol, and on Dyrön and Klädesholmen likewise, from January to March 1923. It was the time of year when the fishermen devoted themselves to coastal fishing for herring and returned home each week. During this revival EFS's members increased within a few weeks from around 50 to about 200, out of a population of 430 (report in *Budbäraren* April 1, 1923). The majority of the families were involved, to a greater or lesser degree. This revival is still vividly remembered in oral tradition. The meeting hall in the mission house could not hold the ever-growing number of visitors. On several occasions, entire fishing crews stayed at home from herring fishing during the week in order to attend meetings on weekday evenings. The revival affected the men at least as much as it did the women.

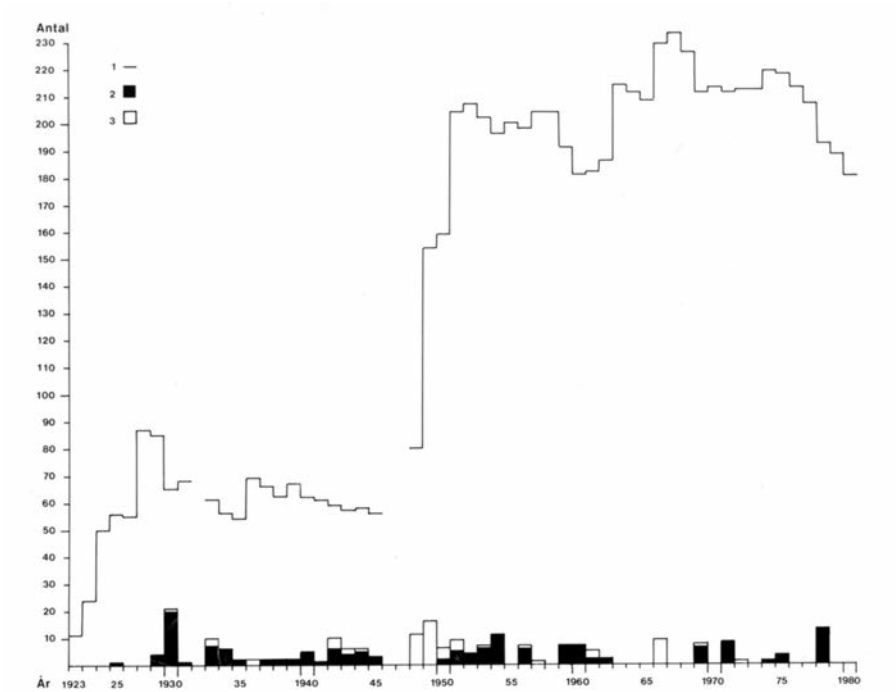
One rapid effect of all the conversions was that former enemies made peace with one another. Another visible result in community life was the dismantling of the outdoor dancing floor. The temperance society, which had reappeared at the beginning of the 1920s, again found difficulty in recruiting members and attracting visitors to the meetings. It had then to discontinue its activities.

Open-air meeting held by the EFS society on Åstol around 1920. The speaker is the Rev. Gustav Cederberg, Marstrand. Photo privately owned.

The revival of 1923 within EFS/DUF soon faced a serious competitor in the form of a new revival in the Pentecostal Movement, which developed rapidly. It first appeared in the summer of 1923 among a few young fishermen. They had come into contact with the proclamations of the Pentecostal Movement in some ports in England. This took place just after deep-sea fishing for ling off Shetland in the spring of 1922 had given way to fishing for plaice in the North Sea. The catches were landed in the English ports, chiefly Grimsby. The Pentecostal Movement appointed a pastor there at an early date. A small number of young fishermen, aged between 20 and 30, quickly came under the influence of the Pentecostal teachings. Several of them began to speak in tongues and experienced spiritual baptism while out fishing. When they later witnessed in the EFS mission-hall, strong opposition arose from the somewhat older fishermen who were leaders in EFS. Detailed information on the emotionally charged meetings in the mission-hall during the summer and autumn of 1923 has been supplied both by those who stayed in EFS and those who joined the Pentecostal Movement. In many cases, these conflicts arose between the younger and middle generations in the same family, as between father and son. This shows that in the revival process it is possible to discern a protest from the young, a revolt against the middle generation. A large number of them belonged to EFS or were active in the Swedish State Church. This revolt was channeled through the new revival movement.

Members of EFS on Åstol departing by boat for the mission house in the nearby town of Marstrand in 1925. Photo privately owned.

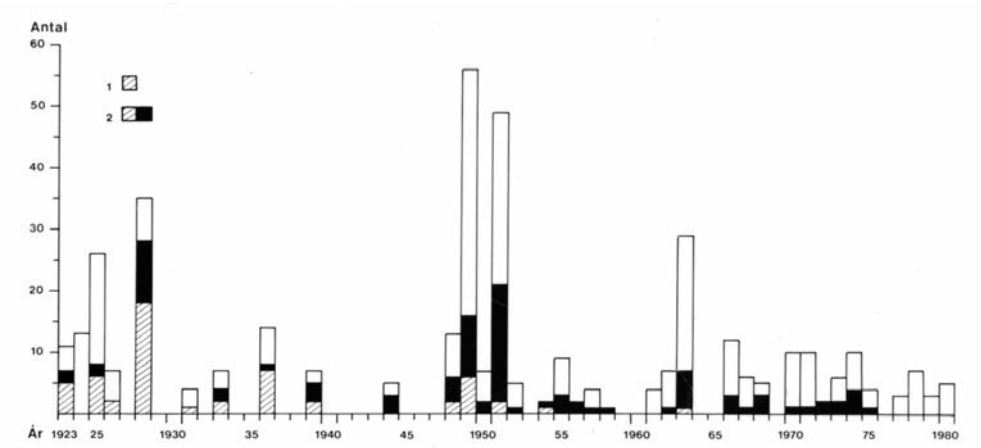
Fishermen from Åstol resting in the harbour at Grimsby, England, on a Sunday, around 1925. Photo privately owned.



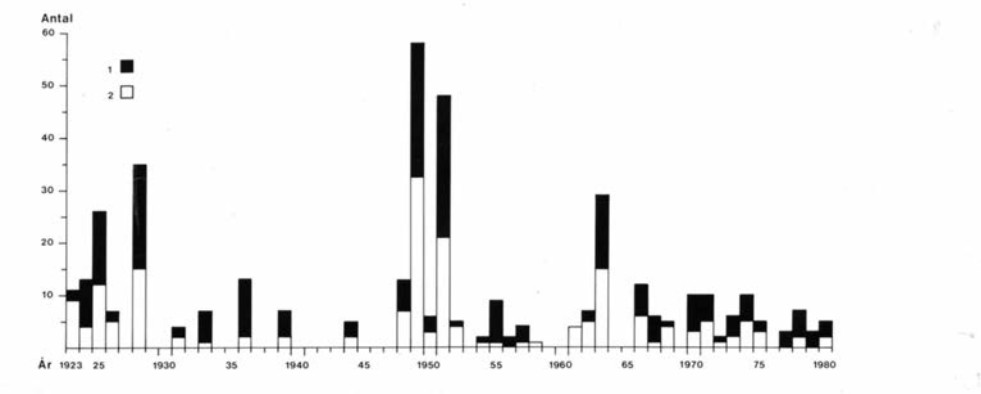
1. 1 = the number of members in the Pentecostal congregation, Elim, on Åstol from 1923 to 1980. 2 = the number of excluded members. 3 = the number of readmitted members. The figures for 1932 and 1946-47 are missing. All diagrams drawn by Hanna Nerman, Lund.

In addition to the demarcation lines between the generations, there were also marked ideological boundaries. This became quite obvious in discussions on the baptism of faith, speaking in tongues and spiritual baptism (cf. in this connection Björkquist 1959, Nilsson 1959, Svensson 1980). The view of baptism has remained the crucial question at issue on which agreement has never been reached. With regard to norms, the Pentecostal Movement differed from EFS in its stricter regulation of the members' external social conduct, with respect to apparel and use of snuff, for instance.

After the external break with EFS the Pentecostalists began to hold meetings in the home of a young fisherman's widow (born in 1890), sister of one of the young fishermen who had experienced spiritual baptism out on the North Sea. Several younger members of a number of families became the leaders during the first period in the 1920s. A congregation of 11 members was founded in the autumn of 1923; it was first affilitated with the Baptists. In March 1924 a Pentecostal congregation, Elim, was established separate from the Baptist Church. During the autumn of the same



2. The number of newly baptised members in the Pentecostal congregation, Elim, on Åstol from 1923 to 1980. 1 = number readmitted later out of the total number of baptized each year. 2 = number excluded later out of the total number of baptized each year.



3. Newly baptized members in the Pentecostal congregation on Åstol. 1 = men. 2 = women.

year the Pentecostalists were able to inaugurate their chapel which contained a baptismal bath. The number of members had then risen to 35. However, there was no permanent preacher and the services of itinerant preachers had to be resorted to. With the establishment of the new congregation an obvious competitive relationship grew up between EFS and Elim. The ideological demarcation lines, the conflict of values, also gained the character of a conflict of interests. The membership roll of EFS de-

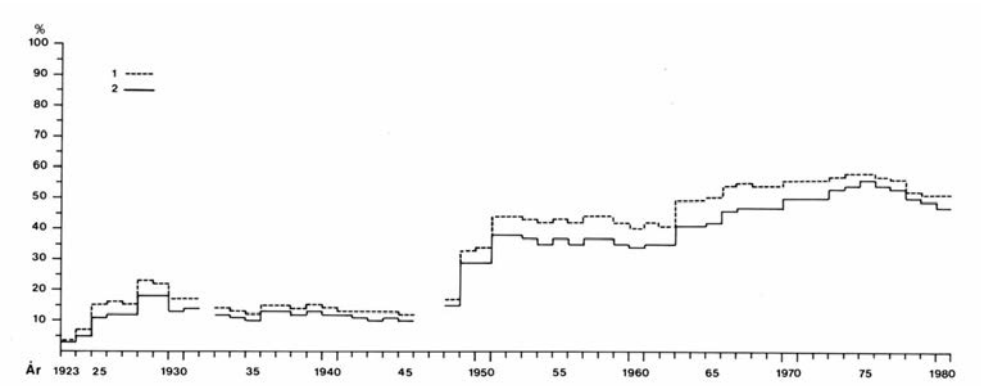
Pentecostalists on Åstol outside their chapel one Sunday in the 1930s. 5 of the women were bareheaded and 7 of them covered their heads. Thus the usage was divided in this connection (cf. chapter 7 and 9). Photo privately owned.

creased from 174 in November 1923 to 125 in 1925. In 1926 13 more left the congregation.

Diagrams 1, 2 and 4 show that the number of new members that were incorporated through baptism in the Elim congregation rose very quickly at first. While 13 were baptized in 1924, the number doubled to reach 26 in 1925. Then there was a gap for a few years, but in 1928 the number of newly baptized amounted to 35. During the first period about as many men as women were involved. Men predominated only in the very first stage of the revival in 1923 (diagram 3).

In the vast majority of cases it was the young people who joined. The fact that the younger generation took the lead has certainly contributed to the rapid establishment of the Pentecostal Movement among many of the young people. This fits in with the new revival movement's character of protest against the middle generation (see above).

The percentage of Pentecostalists in the population on Åstol had risen between 1924 and 1928 from 5 to 18 per cent. If the number of children under 10 years of age, the earliest possible age for baptism, is deducted, the percentage increase was from 7 to 23 (diagram 4).



4. 1 = the percentage of the population on Åstol represented by the Pentecostal congregation when the children under 10 years of age are not included. 2 = the percentage of the total population on Åstol represented by the Pentecostal congregation.

The Pentecostal revival stagnated in the 1930s and 1940s

After the massive increase in 1928, there was soon a marked decline in the number of new recruits. There were no baptisms in 1929 and 1930. Also, the first cases of exclusion from the congregation occurred at this time, 4 in 1929, and not fewer than 20 in 1930. In 1933 and 1934, 7 and 6 members were excluded, respectively, and this was followed by several each year during the remainder of the 1930s. Exclusion took place after the leaders of the congregation, i.e. the pastor and the elders (see Stenström 1959), had contacted members who had violated one of the norms, such as non-attendance at meetings for a period of time, use of snuff or consumption of alcohol. If they confessed in the presence of the leaders of the congregation and promised to lead a better life, they were able to obtain a respite, but otherwise they were excluded immediately. This congregational discipline served as a means of both maintaining the authority of the congregation's norms and of drawing a sharp dividing line between the congregation and outsiders in the local milieu (cf. chapter 9).

In February 1933 the board of the congregation was reorganized by electing new elders. The minutes provide insight into the fact that there had been instances of antagonism among the leaders of the congregation. Seven new members were baptized on 26 February, 1933, and 3 were readmitted on 25 February. They did not need to be rebaptized. In contrast to the practice of exclusion, readmittance took place in public in front of the whole congregation. On such occasions those who were to be readmitted had to profess their faith personally, just as at their baptism. In 1934 and 1935, there were again no baptisms at all, but in 1936 there was a slight increase. After that there were no baptismal ceremonies until 1939 (7 baptisms).

The missionary boat "Fridsbudet" (The Message of Peace) from Åstol about 1930. From 1925 onwards a number of Pentecostalists traveled round the archipelago of Bohuslän preaching their religious message from this boat. Photo privately owned.

Recruitment of new members during the period of recession in the 1930s mainly took place within families in which at least one member already belonged to the congregation, but hardly at all among outsiders. Another outstanding characteristic was that the few who were baptized consisted chiefly of women. This led, in its turn, to problems with keeping to the norm "not to go out with those who were not saved". This norm was essential for demarcating the outward limits, but also for increasing the possibilities with regard to new recruitment in the future through marriage within the group (cf. chapter 9). During this time it was chiefly the female members of the congregation who committed offences against the norm.

The recession in the Elim congregation was reinforced during the 1940s when baptisms almost ceased. The number excluded increased compared with the 1930s. Moreover, this time from the end of the 1930s to the late 1940s was a period of recession in many Pentecostal congregations in Sweden (Struble 1982: 219).

New revivals at the end of the 1940s

Minutes from 1946 and 1948 reveal that marked differences of opinion had arisen in the congregation between various elders. New elders were elected to bring an end to the internal conflicts. In the autumn of 1947 it was also decided, for the first time, that a permanent preacher should be appointed. In December, 1947, the preacher Karl Eliasson took up his duties. In February 1948, a new wave of revival was in evidence,

which turned out to be even stronger than during the 1920s. The revival began in real earnest in February 1949. 58 members were baptized and 16 were readmitted in that year. There was a drop to 7 baptisms in 1950, but in 1951 the figure for baptisms again rose sharply to 48. The percentage of the whole population, which had fallen from 12 to 10 between 1940 and 1945, rose rapidly to 15 in 1948, 29 in 1949 and 38 in 1951 (17, 33 and 44 per cent respectively, if children under 10 are not included). At this time there was also a notable recruitment of new members even from outside families in which at least one member not already belonged to the Pentecostal congregation. The time around 1950 coincides with strong revivals in many other Pentecostal congregations in western Sweden (e.g. Niklasson 1951, cf. Sahlberg 1977).

Among the first members to be readmitted at the new revival in February 1948, were a few who had joined the revival in the 1920s, especially in 1928. They were now aged between 35 and 40, both men and women. However, those who were the chief supporters of the new revival were the newly baptized, who primarily consisted of young people. Several young men took the lead, for instance, a fisherman's son (born in 1928). His father was one of those who took the initiative in establishing the Pentecostal congregation in the 1920s, but had later apostatized. The involvement of these young men in the revival is evident from the fact that many of them, exactly as in the EFS revival in 1923 (see above), frequently refrained from going out herring fishing along the coast in winter. They wanted to be able to attend the revival and prayer meetings during weekday evenings in the Elim chapel.

When those who belonged to the younger generation, under 30 years of age, led the way in the revival, they did not encounter the same opposition from the middle generation in their own families that had arisen during the 1920s (see above). Many people in that generation eventually joined the congregation instead. Some of them were readmitted, but a greater number were baptized, women and men in almost equal proportions. The weaker resistance this generation offered must be regarded in the light of the fact that at the end of the 1940s EFS no longer had the strong position it had had in the 1920s. Admittedly, there was also a minor revival in EFS in 1949, but it only resulted in about 10 new members. The number of members in the society reached a total of 54. From this time onwards EFS constituted a clear minority compared with the Pentecostalists.

Stagnation during the 1950s

From 1952 a marked decline began in the number of members in the Elim congregation, and this lasted until the beginning of the 1960s. After the period of revival in 1948-1951 readmittance to the congregation ceased almost completely. As in the period of recession in the 1930s and 1940s, the newly baptized consisted mainly of young women. They came from families where at least one member already belonged

to the congregation. There was no longer any recruitment of new members outside the group, repeating the pattern during earlier periods of recession. At the end of the 1950s and the beginning of the 1960s there was a marked preponderance of women among the younger members, just as at the end of the 1930s. A certain amount of internal conflicts also appeared again in the congregation.

During the 1950s the exclusion of members was limited. In this way the percentage of the total population represented by the Pentecostalists remained stable between 1951 (38 %) and 1962 (35 %, or 44 and 41 %, respectively, if children under 10 are not included). The climax for exclusion was reached in 1954, when 11 members were excluded. The pattern was the same as in the 1920s: most cases of exclusion occurred within a short space of time after a major revival.

Revival among the younger generation during the 1960s

The period of recession was interrupted in 1963 by a new, notable revival. Twenty-nine young people were baptized within a short space of time in the month of November. Twenty-seven of them were under 20 years of age and none of them was more than 30. As in the revival periods in the 1920s and 1948-1951, men allowed themselves to be baptized to the same extent as women (diagram 4). Again this made it possible for marriages to take place within the group during the 1960s and 1970s.

The percentage of the total population represented by the Pentecostalists rose to just over 40 (about 50 if children under 10 are not included). After another 12 baptisms in 1966 and the readmission of 9 former members, the percentage increased to 46, or 54 without the children under 10. The congregation had now reached a dominant position numerically. As in earlier revival periods, it had succeeded in recruiting new members even from outside the group, but only among the youngest generation. The percentage continued to rise steadily up till 1975, when the climax was reached with 56 % (58 % if the children under 10 are not counted). One factor contributing towards the increase, besides the growing number of baptisms, was that only a limited number of people were excluded or left of their own accord (see below) between 1963 and 1975.

Recession in the second half of the 1970s

After 1975 the percentage of the population represented by the Elim congregation gradually decreased, a few per cent per year, from 56 in 1975 to 47 in 1980 (from 58 to 51 if children under 10 are not counted). In this period there was a slight decrease in the number of baptisms. As in early periods of recession, the vast majority of baptisms concerned women. Their age continued to be low. Only exceptionally was anyone older than 20. There was scarcely any new recruitment outside the families with at least one member belonging to the congregation. Once again there was an increase in the number of withdrawals from the congregation, as in earlier periods of recession.

Another trend that affected the percentage of the population who were members of the Elim congregation was that the previous decrease in population between 1968 and 1975, in connection with the fishing crisis of 1968-69, had now lessened appreciably. Movement out of the area, which had amounted to 30 persons per year in 1969 and 1970, had only accounted for 10 per year since 1975. This had a negative effect on the Pentecostal congregation, regarding its percentage of the total population, as in the period just before its members had been less inclined than other Åstol inhabitants to leave the island. A certain number of new residents, from the mid-1970s onwards, also contributed towards limiting the decrease in population. A total of some 10 persons a year moved to Åstol during the period 1975-1980 (Register of removal into and out of the parish, Rönnäng Church records). This development finds its counterpart in many other coastal communities in Bohuslän at that time (Forsström & Olsson 1982). The new residents had not grown up on Åstol, but some of them had been summer visitors there for some time. This applies to about a dozen couples aged 30-40 until about 1980. All of them were better educated, and were therefore of a higher social standing than other Åstol inhabitants. They had grown up in various towns in Sweden, and in no case did they join the Pentecostal congregation.

Another category of people who moved in grew up on Åstol, but they later felt the necessity of leaving the island at the time of the fishing crisis. They may be described as returning residents, as they returned from the mid-1970s onwards as soon as they had a chance of obtaining living accommodation. The majority of them commuted to industrial work places, Stenungsund in particular. In 1980 the couples concerned were about 10 in number, all of them about 30 to 40 years of age. Unlike the new residents, they all become members of the Elim congregation. This factor has thus counteracted its percentage-wise decrease since 1975. The returning residents were received into the congregation for the first time during the revival period in the 1960s and were numbered among the most active before they again departed sometime in the years between 1967 and 1973. They continued to take an active part in other Pentecostal congregations.

In contrast to the development in the Pentecostal congregation in the postwar period, EFS continued to lose ground on Åstol, apart from a slight improvement in 1949. In 1980 the society had only about 20 members. They all belonged to an older generation. Recruitment of new members among the younger people was unsuccessful. The majority of these joined the Pentecostal congregation instead, and this contributed to the retention of the antagonism that began in the 1920s. No ecumenical cooperation worth mentioning grew up. The antagonism hardly diminished with the influx to Åstol of new groups without any active religious background, such as the summer visitors and the new residents. The conflicts were too deeply rooted to be bridged over by competitors from outside.

Factors behind the periods of revival

Periods of revival and periods of recession succeeded one another. But why do such periods of revival, in which many people join a religious movement, occur? I should like to discuss here various underlying factors explaining these striking changes.

Changes in the conditions of life

The German ethnologist Martin Scharfe, who has been oriented towards historical materialism, has interpreted pietistic revivals in Germany in the light of changes on the economic level. They occur at times of economic crisis, when the revival becomes a "crisis religion" (Scharfe 1980). The Norwegian religious sociologist Knut Lundby in Oslo, in a study on Norwegian revival movements during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, has advocated a somewhat different economic perspective for his interpretation. The revival periods are related to economic fluctuations, but, in contrast to Scharfe, Lundby believes that they occur in periods when there is an economic upswing, particularly at the beginning of them (Lundby 1980 a, b).

How, then, do these lines of thought agree with the situation on Åstol? In 1908, when the first revival on Åstol took place in DUF, fishing was enjoying an upward swing after the marked crisis at the turn of the century (Hasslöf 1949 appendices). The upswing then continued until the next severe recession came, starting in the late 1910s.

The external situation contributed to the success of the 1908 revival in another respect, namely, there had been no Swedish intra-church revival of the Schartauan type here to offer competition. Furthermore, Åstol and Dyrön differed from the coastal villages such as Käringön and Gullholmen, where the inhabitants have spurned free-church religious revivals, in that they had neither a church nor a parson of their own who could counteract a new revival movement from outside (cf. Jansson 1982, Sahlberg 1982). During the early years of this century parishioners in the archipelago of southern Tjörn had to row a long way over the open sea to attend church at Rönnäng every Sunday. That they experienced this as trying has been witnessed to by many. In such a situation the sermons in EFS could provide an alternative for the islanders. They did not need to feel that the boundary between this and their former allegiance was particularly obvious. DUF belonged to the Swedish Church and its clergy preached at some of the open-air meetings (see photograph above). In an official report in 1909, the parson stated that he had allowed the preachers in EFS to use the school premises on Åstol (Rönnäng Church records).

After 1908 the next revival period began at the time of the outbreak of the First World War in the autumn of 1914. It took place before the economic decrease in fishing had had time to take a downward turn. At this time growing external unrest be-

came evident. It became even more evident for the men engaged in fishing and seafaring than for those who lived on shore due to the increasing insecurity at sea. In wartime there was danger of a boat being blown up by a mine every time it set out. This insecurity also affected the women in the coastal settlements, many of whom have described how they sat at home worrying about their menfolk at sea. Even in peacetime fishing and seafaring involve great risks compared with occupations on land. These include the danger of shipwreck in a storm or other accidents at sea. This means that sudden death feels closer at hand for coast dwellers, a fact that aggravates their anxiety.

With the help of the registers of deaths and burials (Rönnäng Church records), I have studied the relationship in time between serious shipwrecks and periods of revival at a local level. Covariation does exist, in that serious shipwrecks have more than once happened a short time before a revival has sprung up. For instance, a serious accident occurred in 1913, when two fishermen from Åstol drowned and several others very nearly lost their lives. According to information from many witnesses, the shipwrecks affected the mood of the coastal community, bringing a feeling of apprehension in their wake. This, in its turn, could prepare the ground for being more receptive towards the preaching of religious messages that demanded an immediate personal decision. Preparation for eternal life was promised, something that was brought to the fore by the deaths at sea.

The next major shipwrecks affecting Åstol occurred in 1920 and 1922. It was in the home of a woman who became a widow through such an accident at sea in 1920 that the Pentecostalists gathered before they had acquired their own chapel after the breakaway from EFS (see above). She had to earn a living by scrubbing and washing for other families. Many informants have pointed out the economic difficulties widows and children had to face when menfolk lost their lives at sea. These circumstances may have contributed towards their open-mindedness and enthusiasm for the new revival movement.

A marked change commenced in 1922, as the Åstol fishermen went over to fishing for plaice in the North Sea that year. This was carried on during the summer months and led to economic improvement. By way of contrast, the winters of 1922 and 1923 constituted a severe recession for coastal herring fishing, which took place in the winter. Fishery statistics show that both the size and value of the catches fell from the end of the 1910s up until 1923 (Hasslöf 1949, Boberg 1963). Many old fishermen have testified that they earned so little that they felt a time of economic deprivation was at hand.

Another major shipwreck happened at the end of November 1927, when the fishing boat "Balder" sank with her entire crew of five young men. Some of them belonged to the Elim congregation and others to EFS. This took place just over a month

The crew of the boat "Balder" fishing plaice in the North Sea about 1925. Photo privately owned.

before the strong revival occurred in Elim in 1928, when 35 new members were baptized between 20 January and 12 February.

The feeling of insecurity concerning life at sea was revived once more during the Second World War, when many fishing boats from Bohuslän were blown up by mines. A total of 73 fishermen and seamen from Bohuslän were killed during the period 1939-1945. Many fishermen who were blown up by mines, but who survived, have described how these experiences came to affect them spiritually. They felt that they had "looked death in the face", but also that they did not have any other choice than to continue their life at sea. Many women have witnessed to the perpetual anxiety they felt when the menfolk were out, especially when they could hear the mines exploding. The men who had experienced shipwreck did not join the Pentecostal Movement during the war years themselves, when the congregation went through a notable period of recession, but in many cases later on, when the strong revival took place in 1948-1951. Shipwrecks and the ever-present dangers at sea have obviously helped to prepare the way for revival in a psychological sense. The religious revival came at a convenient time, just after the period of great anxiety. The danger of encountering mines continued for a while after the end of the war in 1945.

The revival in 1948-1951 commenced when the worst external troubles had just subsided. The economic recession during the Second World War, when fishing was limited and done at great risk, had by 1948 had time to be superseded by a clear rise in the amount and value of the catches (Hasslöf 1949, Boberg 1963, Anderson &

Two new steel-hulled trawlers in the background in Åstol's harbour in 1965. Photo: Åke Arvidsson, Skärhamn.

Zetterström 1970). After the end of the war in 1945 Fladen fishing began, which brought better times. Here it was a matter, once again, of an obvious change in ways of earning a living, exactly as in 1922, and a phase leading up to a period of economic improvement in similarity to that of 1908 (see above). This period of improvement lasted right up to the fishing crisis at the end of the 1960s.

The revivals of 1963 and 1966 also occurred during this period of economic improvement, which had received fresh impetus at the beginning of the 1960s. The revival in 1963 came just after a marked change in the ways of earning a living. In 1960 and 1961 the majority of the boat crews had acquired much larger vessels, steel-hulled trawlers, which made fishing considerably more effective (reports in *Svenska västkustfiskaren* 1960-61). Åstol belonged to the group of Bohuslän coastal villages that acquired steel-hulled trawlers at the earliest opportunity and in the greatest numbers. In February, 1961, three leading Pentecostalists from Åstol bought the largest fishing vessel at that time in Sweden (*Svenska västkustfiskaren*, February 1961). In 1965 there were twenty steel-hulled trawlers on the island.

The revival in 1963 took place among the young people who were about to begin their lives as fishermen, or had recently begun. The revival among these, as with the expansion of the Pentecostal Movement in 1923 (see above), could be an expression of a reaction or protest among the young against the middle generation's over-ambi-

tious investments in larger vessels, which were regarded as a sign of growing materialism (cf. Bjurström 1980). When I interviewed those who joined the revival, I detected just such an objection towards the generation preceding theirs, the middle generation, rather too obviously competing with each other at this time for the ownership of the most modern vessels and equipment, the highest incomes and the latest in housing standards. This agrees with the fact that the houses were thoroughly renovated during the period of improvement in the 1950s and 1960s. At the same time, one reads in the annual reports of the Elim congregation around 1960, that the monetary contributions to congregational activities have shown a decrease, "in spite of the rise in the members' salaries" reported in 1958. An attitude of this kind among the younger generation towards the middle one could be a factor in the creation of psychological readiness for a revival, in which emphasis was laid on spiritual rather than material values. However, this cannot provide a complete explanation for the strong revival among the younger generation. It is also essential to consider the religious messages proclaimed by the revivalist preachers.

Revivalist preachers and the content of their message

Informants who joined the revival in EFS in 1923 have talked about the preacher Stenlund, who came to Åstol, Dyrön and Klädesholmen shortly before the great revival sprang up. He had a particular power of holding the attention of his audience, and this made it difficult to resist forming a personal opinion about his message. One informant (born in 1896) made the following characteristic statement, "He had something of an igniting spark. He had a great gift for bringing out and painting a picture of sin. He preached in such a way that there was such a spiritual need". He gesticulated, raised and lowered his voice and talked personally to individual members of his audience. It evoked a strong need to confess one's sins then and there in front of the preacher and to go over to God. In strong contrast to sin, Stenlund brought out the great mercy and forgiveness that could be won, if one reached a decision.

Stenlund left Åstol in the latter part of 1923. Then EFS no longer had a preacher who could inspire an audience in the same way as before. His departure was partly connected with the development of internal strife in the society. This provides another explanation for why many members soon after the great EFS revival transferred to the newly established Elim congregation which represented both a different ideology and other norms.

Many informants have reported that even during the time before they were converted, during the Second World War, they attended meetings at the Elim hall from time to time. They were, however, not affected by the teaching until they heard the revivalist preachers. The congregation's first permanent preacher, Karl Eliasson, took up his duties in December, 1947, only a few months before the revival began. At the

beginning of 1949 he received help from two young preachers (cf. Engström 1962). They held revival meetings from January to April, during which time 58 new members were baptized and 16 people were readmitted. One man (born in 1920), who was readmitted in January, 1949, gave these impressions of these new and different preachers:

> Karl Eliasson was a very clever preacher. We had a young preacher, Karl Erik Moberg, and one called Herbert Lybing. And they were the most interesting people you could go and listen to. Lybing had his guitar and Karl Erik Moberg played the accordion. It was so interesting to go and listen to them. So we sat there in the evenings, as if we were turned to stone. Both of them had the power of inspiring revival. This means getting sinners to see themselves as they really are, that they need to repent and lead a better life. They need to be free from sin. This is what the preachers impressed on us. Eliasson became like a father to the whole congregation. These three were a fine combination.

This statement shows how personal preaching qualities in those who were proclaiming the message can play an important part in how it is received (cf. Paine 1965).

Pastor Birger Andrén baptizing sixteen new members on 1 April 1951. Photo privately owned.

According to unanimous reports from many informants, the preachers had the power of appealing to the feelings of their audience at these meetings during the revival of 1948-1951. This applied especially to being able to invoke an experience of the heavy burden of sin from which we must be freed. At the meetings people wept copiously about their sins (cf. chapter 7 about the same situation among the Free Friends in Norway). This indicates the crucial role of feelings. When Karl Eliasson left Åstol at the beginning of 1950, the revival weakened. The number of baptisms fell drastically, but rose again appreciably in 1951. In the autumn of 1950 the congregation had been given a new permanent preacher, Birger Andrén. The members of the congregation particularly remember him for his striking revival sermons. Like Karl Eliasson before him, he could captivate his listeners and they thought of him as one who possessed a personal magnetism. When Andrén left after one and a half years' duties, stagnation quickly set in, with a considerably fewer number of baptisms from 1952 onwards. According to people who have heard them, the preachers who were active within the Elim congregation later on in the 1950s did not possess these charismatic qualities. During their time in the congregation the number of baptisms dropped appreciably.

At the beginning of the 1960s more efforts were put into activities for young people, especially regarding singing and music. The initiative was taken by the pastor, Berthold Pettersson, who came to the congregation in October 1961 and remained for four years. Many young people who grew up during these years have described how they were affected by his preaching and his way of taking care of adolescents. He went along to camp and obtained new contacts with them in this way.

These examples show that there were several traits common to revival preachers. For one thing, it was a question of addressing the individual members of the audience and emphasizing the importance of an immediate personal decision. They have also combined the religious message with attractive singing and music. In fact, no new message was proclaimed when a new revival came about; what was new was its presentation by new preachers and in new situations. An important factor has been the personal qualities of the preachers, a kind of charismatic power, not merely the content of the message. Otherwise, the revivals in Elim and EFS, with varying ideologies in many ways, would not have shown so many traits in common. To achieve the greatest success, the revival preachers who had personal powers in proclaiming the message had to operate in a suitable external situation. These factors have to operate simultaneously to achieve the greatest effect. If one exists, but not the others, no revival will come about. In each of the years 1908,1914, 1923, 1948-1951 and 1963, there was a suitable situation, characterized by changes in the economy and in ways of earning a living and/or other events that could arouse strong anxiety, such as shipwrecks at sea. At the same time, there were preachers who could rivet the attention

of those who listened to them and make them give careful consideration to their spiritual life.

Both during the Second World War and during the severe fishing crisis at the end of the 1960s favourable external conditions existed for revival. A teacher who took up his post on Åstol in 1970 related of the pessimism and feeling of insecurity he encountered among the local inhabitants in connection with the great fishing crisis. However, the revival did not take place, apparently largely as a result of the lack of an eminent revivalist preacher in the congregation who could take advantage of the favourable external situation. From many sources, both within and outside the congregation, it has been testified that the pastors who worked on Åstol during the 1970s did not have the right inflammatory style for a revival. On the other hand, a revival took place in 1991 when 19 younger persons were baptized shortly after a new and charismatic preacher had appeared in the congregation and remained there for a short time. In 1990, the number of baptisms was listed as five, in 1992 there were eight, and four each in 1993 and 1994.

The personal experiences of the converted and the outsiders

The point of departure for the discussions has hitherto concerned external factors in the people's milieu: changes in the economy and ways of earning a living, times of unrest and the personal traits of the preachers. How does this fit in with the personal experiences of the converted with regard to the appearance of a revival movement? In a number of cases, the converted have pointed out the role which the preachers have had, and that their teachings about sin and the Mercy of God deeply affected them. However, they do not think that the content of the message in itself has had the power to bring about conversion. Instead, this is primarily seen as an intervention on the part of God in a time of spiritual need. It was also God who provided the strength to change one's life after conversion in accordance with the new norms. This testimony as to the intervention of God provides an "internal perspective" of the people themselves. A researcher in cultural and social sciences cannot, however, express an opinion on the explanatory value of subjective and irrational interpretations assuming influence from a supernatural world. But the field-working scholar must listen to what they are saying. Their words may reflect their inner feelings. According to many informants who were converted, this intervention of God was encouraged by the urgent prayers for revival undertaken by a small number of truly faithful people during a time of spiritual recession. That prayer meetings of this kind existed before the revival in 1948 has been witnessed to by many persons who took part in them (cf. Struble 1982: 219).

In contrast to the experiences of the converted, several people among those who remained outside the Pentecostal congregation, or who had first been members but

were later excluded, have instead pointed out that the strong revival movements in the congregation should be regarded as a type of mass hysteria. Social and psychological motives could be considered as having more importance than religious ones. Any one person has behaved much like another in his circle of acquaintances without giving much thought to the spiritual content of the revival message. One woman (born in 1913), who was baptized in Elim in 1928 but was later excluded, told of the reasons why she joined, "You wanted to go where the other youngsters were. If some of them were in one place, the others wanted to be there too."

This social motive for joining the congregation may, however, first emerge at a later phase in a revival when it strengthened its position in the local milieu. By joining at that point, a new member can gain both a wider range of social contacts and higher status. The religious motive, on the other hand, must be the vital one in the first phase before many others have joined. In this case conflicts have arisen, as in 1923. It was a strain to break with an earlier pattern in one's own family. Only a religious awareness could have provided the strength to struggle against the resistance in one's immediate surroundings.

Something that could be interpreted as an outward sign of a social motive for joining the congregation is that many new members were baptized on the same occasion. There were no instances of this in the preliminary phases of the revivals in the 1920s and 1940s, but they took place later after the revival had been in progress for some time. At this point ideological awareness and the character of a personal profession of faith in public did not need to be so pronounced or cause such strain. Instead, there could be social pressure to join, when more and more from among your contemporaries, within your own family and among your relatives had already done so. This created the prerequisite conditions for a looser connection with the views and norms of the congregation. The figures relating to the numbers who were excluded from the congregation also support the idea that the social motive increased in importance the further a revival progressed. Both after the revivals in the 1920s, 1948-51 and in the 1960s, there was a clear tendency for the members who joined at a later phase to be the first to be excluded. Those who had taken the initiative, on the other hand, have largely remained and have been the most active over a long period. It was precisely from this group that the elders of the congregation were elected.

Recruitment of new members between the periods of revival

To be able to understand the factors underlying the recruitment of new members from among the younger generation even between the major periods of revival, careful attention should be paid to the teaching of children and adolescents. How has the reli-

gious message, involving both the conception of faith and the norms, been passed on from one generation to another? Why has the recruitment of new members during periods of recession mainly taken place within the group?

Teaching has been done both within the families and officially within the congregation, where it was intensified after the revivals in 1948-1951 and in the 1960s. The congregation organized a Sunday school since 1924. In 1950 special meetings for children started, and at the beginning of the 1970s a once-weekly playgroup was set up. Many children from families outside the congregation, also from among the new residents from the mid-1970s onwards (see above), have taken part both in the Sunday school and the playgroup.

What was taught, then, in those families where at least one parent belonged to the Pentecostal congregation? Many of those who grew up in homes of this kind testify to daily Bible reading and that the parents prayed with their children. They also had to learn, at an early age, the norms followed by the congregation, such as no smoking, taking snuff, drinking alcohol, dancing, playing cards, or working and taking part in sport on Sundays. It is in the individual families that these norms have chiefly been imprinted in the young. On the other hand, there is no information, either from members of the congregation or from the outsiders who have taken part in Sunday school classes, that norms specific to the Pentecostal congregation were learnt there (cf. the same situation among the Free Friends, see chapter 7). Instead the children were taught rules regarded as being of a general Christian nature, such as saying grace at table, not swearing, lying or being disobedient to parents. That specific norms have been played down in this way may be seen in the light of the fact that the Sunday school was the Pentecostal congregation's primary contact with the families outside. Nor have the conceptions of faith distinctive of the Pentecostal Movement, a bone of contention in the local community, been taught there. This refers particularly to the views on baptism of faith, speaking with tongues and spiritual baptism. These have been taught partly within the Pentecostalist families and partly in the Bible Class arranged every year by the congregation for 12- to 13-year-olds who had left the Sunday school. This was directly intended as a preparation for being admitted into the congregation. Children from families outside the congregation have, however, hardly participated in the Bible Class. The fact that they only attended the Sunday school and the playgroup, which both lacked the distinguishing features of the confessional, helps to explain why the congregation, between the major revivals, recruited hardly any new members outside families in which at least one person already belonged to the group.

One effort to obtain new recruits among the young people outside the group has consisted of giving them a direct invitation on many occasions to take part in the congregation's Saturday evening youth meetings, especially after the revival in the 1960s.

The Pentecostalists have then combined the religious aspect in the form of a sermon, giving witness, singing songs and playing instruments with a social evening together. The religious message reached many young people, but only a few new members were obtained in this way. This is even more true of the tent meetings down by the boat harbour, which have been arranged by the congregation every summer since 1978. They have been primarily directed towards the growing numbers of summer visitors, the majority of them mobile tourists staying in their boats overnight in the Åstol guest harbour.

The Pentecostal pastor Jonas Kristensson talking at a tent meeting down by the harbour on Åstol in the summer of 1978. Photo: Jan-Owe Glavå, Rönnäng.

Remaining in the Pentecostal congregation or leaving it between the periods of revival

Another relevant question is whether members who have joined remain involved during the time between periods of strong revival. Or does their activity diminish so that

they become more and more passive when attending meetings and in observing norms? In the end this leads to their being excluded or, from the 1960s onwards, to their voluntary withdrawal (see below). Here it is important to analyse which factors have contributed towards, on the one hand, continuity, i.e. that the members have continued to be active, and, on the other hand, discontinuity, i.e. that they have behaved in a way that is contrary to the views and norms of the congregation. Even though the number excluded increased somewhat in periods of recession, a large proportion of those who joined, especially during the revivals of 1948-51 and during the 1960s, remained in the congregation.

Lively activities in the congregation

One essential factor promoting continuity concerns the activities specially arranged for young people in the congregation. The importance of activating young people is clearly brought out when a comparison is made between those who have taken an active part in the song and music group (cf. Björkquist 1959, Selander 1980, Thorsen 1980), from the time of the 1948-51 revival onwards, and those who did not take part in it. Before 1948 the song and music group had about ten members, but from 1951 on about sixty members. The members of this group have largely remained in the

The song and music group in the Elim congregation in 1951. Photo privately owned.

congregation and they have been most assiduous in attending the meetings. They have become a close-knit group through regularly practicing their songs together and giving performances both on Åstol and in other villages they have visited. During the 1960s and 1970s the group included the majority of the young people in the congregation. It became its inner core. If a member left the group, he/she was deprived of its social benefits, the feeling of fellowship. The effect of the song and music group was to promote continuity within the Pentecostalist congregation. At the same time, in common with the norms, it not only strengthened the boundary between the Pentecostalists and outsiders but also the will to evangelize among others. Those who did not take part in the singing and musical activities have generally had looser ties to the congregation. They have not attended meetings as regularly and among them one finds those who have been excluded or, at a later date, who have withdrawn of their own accord. Some of them have pointed out that they found it difficult to enter into the congregation's social life as they could neither sing nor play an instrument. No other alternatives that have been equally effective in activating the young people in the congregation have been found.

One result of the importance members of the congregation attach to their fellowship is that they were less inclined than others to move away from the island at the

Part of the Pentecostal congregation's song group at a meeting in the chapel on Åstol in 1980. Photo: Björn Edlund, Åstol.

onset of the fishing crisis towards the end of the 1960s (see above). It was also mainly former members in the Elim congregation who moved back to Åstol from the mid-1970s onwards (see above). One important motive for these families to return was that they missed the companionship in the Pentecostal congregation, especially in the song and music group. This gave them a feeling of fellowship, security and satisfaction.

The experience of fellowship in the religious group also helps to explain why women left the congregation to a lesser extent than men. They were chiefly responsible for the continuity, but also for the majority of the new recruits between the periods of revival. They were always confined to the place where they lived, and this had a bearing on their greater need of the social companionship which the congregation provided. The men, on the other hand, had a more mobile working life. They made new contacts and received new impulses especially when visiting foreign ports in Denmark, Norway, Shetland and England. This included new impressions of a religious nature that could lead to new revivals, as in 1923 (see above). They were also faced with the temptation to offend against the norms of the congregation, particularly by starting to drink alcohol. The greater contact with the outside world enjoyed by the men continued even after the fishing crisis at the end of the 1960s, when they began to commute daily or weekly to places of work in Stenungsund or Gothenburg. In contrast, the women stayed in the village, where some of them worked in a canning factory, which started in 1970.

Fellowship in the congregation important when making contacts with the outside world

The feeling of fellowship that grew so strong in the congregation after the revivals of the past few decades came to have a particularly strong bearing on retaining the young people when they began to attend schools outside the place where they lived, from the latter part of the 1960s onwards. First it was a question of the Upper Level of the Comprehensive School in Bleket on Tjörn, and then in many cases the "Gymnasium" (Upper Secondary or High School) in Kungälv, Stenungsund or Gothenburg. The free-church faith and membership of the congregation were then put to the test, something which the young people had not encountered earlier on home ground.

At the Upper Level of the Comprehensive School pupils from Åstol, Dyrön and Klädesholmen were put in the same classes. These were precisely those villages in the district of Tjörn where the free-churches and EFS were predominant. This helped to delay the trials the free-church pupils had to face in the new milieu. They were also encouraged to keep to their faith by their being able to return home each day to the island and take part in the companionship of the congregation in the evenings and at the weekends.

The free-church faith and membership in the congregation were even more severely tested when the young people from Åstol, Dyrön and Klädesholmen attended

Gymnasium during the 1960s and 1970s. There they were unable to function as a group, as they did in the Comprehensive School. Many of them chose to remain steadfast, all the same, in the face of critical comments in the new surroundings, such as, "How can you believe in God?" What gave the Gymnasium pupils the strength to resist the new viewpoints was, not least, the fellowship they experienced in Elim on Åstol. They went back there every weekend.

Many of the men have witnessed to similar trials during their period of military service. This caused many of them to leave the congregation in the 1930s and 1940s before it had gained a strong numerical position by means of the revival of 1948-51. Many of the older informants have admitted that after their conversion in the 1920s, they turned away precisely during the military service period. It was the contact with alcohol, in particular, that made them abandon the norms of the Pentecostal congregation. Another temptation was to "go out with girls who were not 'saved'". Also, the habit of swearing that they met in the new place in many cases caused the young men to change their behaviour. As they were a long way from home, they could not keep up the regular contacts with the congregation that the school pupils have had. In addition, the fellowship within the Pentecostalist group had not grown up in the same way as it had after the revival in 1948-51. From the 1960s onwards, the young men who have done their military service have been able to keep up more regular contact with Åstol, thanks to better communications between the training centre and their home tract and the increase in the state allowances for journeys home. Nor have they left the congregation.

Contacts with the outside world were also affected by changes in working life from the end of the 1960s onwards, when the men began working in Stenungsund or Gothenburg. Many of the workers who commuted daily or weekly have declared that the norms in the Pentecostalist congregation have been subjected to considerable strain, for instance, when their workmates have offered them alcohol. The fact that they have kept allegiance to the congregation in this new working situation has been encouraged especially by their having been able to keep up regular contacts with their fellow Pentecostalists. At the new workplaces they have defended their faith and their norms, but have not been so active as in their local milieu in evangelizing among others.

Adapting the norms to changes in social conditions

Shift-work on Sundays

The industrial society that the commuting workers encountered during the 1970s has brought about opposition to the norms followed by the Pentecostalists. One example is the custom of keeping the Sabbath, which they try to preserve with reference to the Bible. However, in this case the members of the congregation were faced with adapt-

ing themselves to a new situation, shift-work on Sundays and other days that are church festivals. The alternative has been to get another job. This has, however, been difficult when one wanted to go on living in the same place. Shift-work on Sundays and other holy days deviated completely from the celebration of Sunday as a Day of Rest so assiduously observed by the fishermen until the time of the fishing crisis at the end of the 1960s.

After discussing the matter thoroughly among themselves the Pentecostalists chose to adapt their norms and their behaviour to the change in the working life. Both the leaders of the congregation and the members in general have accepted such work on Sundays and holy days that is considered necessary to keep up production in the factories. The compromise has been reached without having been able to find any justification for it in the Bible, which is otherwise the only authority for the norms. This only concerns working life, not leisure time. On Sundays when you are at home, it is just as important as ever to observe the Sabbath. The interview material gives a clear indication that shift-work on Sundays and holy days is something that members of the Elim congregation have felt obliged to accept, not something they are satisfied with.

The changes in modern society brought difficulties and perplexity to the congregation at first. In the next phase, however, the readiness to compromise what has been chosen is a factor contributing to the success with which many members have been retained even when the external situation changed so much. If the leaders of the congregation had opposed such an adaptation, many members would have had obvious difficulty in combining their need to earn a living with the norms of the congregation. A conflict of this kind could have led to their leaving the group.

Apparel, sport, TV

Views on the norms have changed in other areas as well. This is evident, for instance, regarding the ideas on how women should be dressed at the meetings. During the first period they were not allowed to cut or curl their hair or wear any jewelry (cf. Struble 1982). Before the revival in 1948-51 they were admonished by the leaders of the congregation, and were in some cases excluded, if they did not conform to such norms. However, this has not occurred since then. The congregation has not given any official reason for this change of viewpoint. The change has increased the likelihood that girls who have been baptized in their early teens will stay till they have reached their later teens. They have not needed to expose themselves to the same privation with regard to their appearance as an earlier generation of women in the congregation had to. Instead, they have been able to follow the rapid changes in fashion, as they have indeed done in the past few decades. Informants outside the group have actually remarked on how fashionably dressed the young people in the Pentecostal congregation have been.

A corresponding change of viewpoint occurred with regard to sport (see also below) from the 1960s onwards. It happened some time after organized sport began to make its appearance on Åstol during the 1950s. The congregation no longer raised any objection to its young people taking part in sport, as long as it did not take place on Sundays. Sport implied something new that one could hardly oppose if one wanted both to retain the allegiance of the young people and obtain new recruits. Thanks to the congregation's willingness to compromise, the young people no longer needed to experience the same internal conflicts that they felt when sport was first introduced, between the norms of the congregation and a growing interest in sport, especially when sport activities expanded during the 1970s.

When TV rapidly spread from the end of the 1950s, the congregation's stern view on films mellowed. This adaptation, too, to an innovation that has appeared in modern society has made it easier to retain the young people. It could have led to internal conflicts within the members if the congregation had allowed its former repudiation of the cinema to apply to TV programs in general as well. It chose a middle way instead and rejected only the kind of programs that were incompatible with its norms, especially those containing violence and swearing.

The adaptation of the behavioural norms does not, however, concern all aspects of life, but only those where marked social changes have taken place during the period in which the Pentecostalist Movement has existed. These include changes in working life through shift-work in the big factories, the rapid changes in fashion regarding clothes and the ever-growing significance of sport and TV in Swedish society (*Den svenska historien* 15, 1979). The congregation was faced with two alternatives: to keep strictly to its earlier norms or to compromise. After a great deal of discussion within the group, it was decided to keep an open mind towards the innovations that had appeared. On the other hand, the congregation has stood up in defence of those norms that are independent of social changes after the establishment of the Pentecostal Movement, that is the views on alcohol, taking snuff, smoking, dancing, card-playing and "not going out with those who were not saved". These norms have been reinforced to the same extent as the adaptation has occurred in other areas. This is connected with the conception of the body as a temple of the Holy Spirit, something that man is not allowed to destroy (1st Letter to the Corinthians 6: 19).

Milder discipline in the congregation

The adaptation of the norms to changes in social conditions is also seen in the milder forms of discipline exerted by the congregation, mainly after the revival in the 1960s. This has contributed to reducing the number of people who have been turned away than would have been the case with earlier, stricter praxis. Instead of the leaders ex-

cluding members from continued membership after norms were violated, the praxis changed so that the members themselves were allowed to decide whether they wished to keep their names on the roll or to be struck off. The social benefit that fellowship in the congregation could provide (see above) has certainly contributed to the fact that many members (with the exception of 13 in 1978) have chosen not to leave the congregation. On the grounds of their irregular attendance of meetings, which is the chief sign that they are on their way out of the congregation, they have been asked by the elders if they wished to remain on the rolls or not. That the milder form of discipline exerted by the congregation has had a positive effect on the number of members may be exemplified by the experiences related by a husband and wife, both born in 1949. They were baptized during the revival of 1963 and had gone out together since they were 16 years old. When they expected a child before they were yet married, they told the pastor and the elders about it of their own free will. They were not punished, as would have been the case according to former praxis. The couple, who wished to remain in the congregation, were later married before the child was born. The husband pointed out that "the congregation gained from treating us in this way, because now we belong, of course, and go to the meetings whenever we can".

Avoiding competition

Continued membership in the congregation and activities within the congregation are also promoted if there are not too many other alternatives competing for interest. This was the case on Åstol up to the middle of the 1970s, i. e. at precisely that time when the percentage of Pentecostalists in the total population began to decrease. Before 1975 people in the Elim congregation obviously made an effort to discourage new prospective competitors (cf. Smidt Olsen 1982).

Sport

Organized sport was considered as just such a threat from outside when it appeared in the middle of the 1950s. A sports club was founded. The people who took the initiative were several young men outside the Elim congregation. No Pentecostalists took up membership. The club began to lead a precarious existence and was disbanded in the 1960s. In the middle of the 1950s the Pentecostalist pastor warned against football. The reason must have been that this sport could draw the young people's attention away from activities within the congregation.

In 1975 club activities were taken up again when a table tennis and football club was set up. Those who took the initiative were again Åstol inhabitants outside the Pentecostal congregation. Among the most active in the new club were many younger

men who had moved to Åstol (see above). This new club was also regarded with skepticism by the Pentecostal congregation at first, even though the views on the members' sport activities had begun to change (see above). The sports club was resisted indirectly; the congregation chose to expand its own activities, particularly those for young people, in the new competitive situation.

Another tactic was to try to increase the influence of the congregation inside the club. This became more and more important as greater numbers of young people joined it and as it extended its activities to include ice hockey and body building as well. The congregation achieved its aim to a certain extent when one of its members was elected as chairman in 1975. The rest of the members on the committee were outside the congregation, however. It has thus only obtained a limited amount of influence over the sports club. The club activities became the chief alternative to the Pentecostalist congregation as far as the young people were concerned. Even though the club had not deliberately acted against the congregation, it contributed to increasing the difficulties in retaining and recruiting new members from the mid-1970s onwards. Young people had acquired another place to meet besides the Elim meeting house.

Summer visitors

Summer visitors represented another prospective source of danger that was considered capable of influencing the young people in an undesirable direction. Members of the Pentecostal congregation kept their distance to the summer visitors. No more than 20 per cent of the houses on Åstol were owned by summer visitors in 1980 (see above). The Pentecostalists were less cool towards summer visitors belonging to some other Pentecostal congregation in town. The summer visitors were met with open resistance if they attempted to introduce any changes which the Pentecostalists considered could lead to negative consequences for their own young people. This occurred, for instance, when some summer visitors wanted to open a discotheque on Åstol at the beginning of the 1970s.

The Pentecostal congregation dominating the life of the local community

The steps taken by the Pentecostal congregation to limit the influence of competitors concerned the attention paid to how the group's own members should be kept active. Another question is how the congregation came to influence community life outside its own group as well, when it reached a stronger numerical position after the revivals in 1948-1951 and in the 1960s. That created the conditions for becoming the dominant element in the local culture (cf. Clarke 1976). How have the Pentecostalists succeeded in winning respect for their views and norms outside their own group? Thanks

to their new dominant position, they could bring social sanctions to bear on the outsiders as well, in another way than formerly (cf. Alvarsson 1980). I would like to examine how this question affected a few sectors in the life of the community.

School education

In school education the outlook of the Elim congregation has been particularly obvious as far as the teaching of biology was concerned. Teachers who moved to the area in the 1970s were directly contradicted by pupils, both on Åstol and at the Upper Level school in Bleket, if they supported Darwin's theory of evolution instead of the theory of creation as found in the Bible. When two teachers, man and wife, from Gothenburg were about to take up their teaching posts in the district, they wrote a letter to the previous teachers, also a couple, who had been in the locality since 1970. They asked for advice on their future work. In their reply, the previous teachers particularly stressed the strong position of the Elim congregation:

> If you want to be accepted, don't harp too much on things of a sensitive nature, e.g. Darwin's theory of evolution, and don't go into religious questions. The children probably know more than you do.

Politics

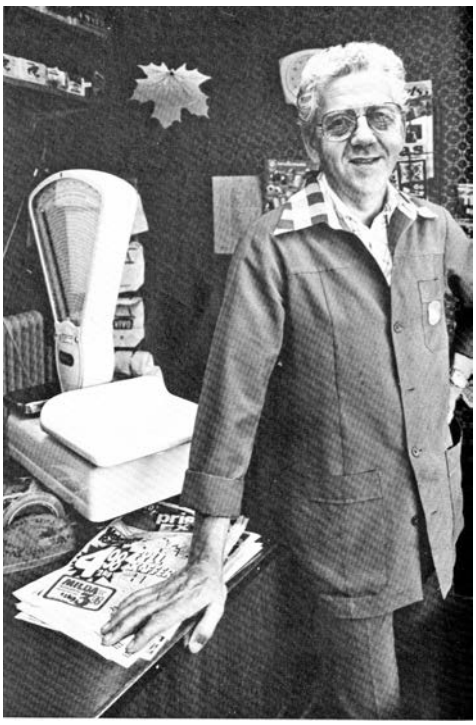
Before the revival in 1948-51 the Pentecostalists did not have any political influence, but the increased involvement was clearly seen when a local community organization, called a "byalag", was started on Åstol in 1972. The people who initiated this were a teacher, a woman who had recently arrived and several summer visitors. When a meeting was called to set it up, no Pentecostalists came. The minutes of the community organization show that, during the first period, the committee consisted of two new residents and the rest were summer visitors. Members of the Pentecostal congregation have declared that they did not approve of the community organization especially because summer visitors played such a prominent part in it.

In 1977 the community organization was reorganized as the Community Organization of Åstol and then, exactly as in many other coastal communities in Bohuslän, the summer visitors were deprived of the right to become members. One of the younger elders (born in 1950) was elected as chairman in 1978. Other seats on the committee were also filled by members of the Elim congregation and they came to form a majority on the committee. After 1977 a large number of Pentecostalists attended the meetings at which questions of importance to the community as a whole were discussed. The members of the Elim congregation were able to affect the development of the organization to a large extent because of their numerical superiority both on the committee and at the meetings of members.

In a similar way, the Pentecostalists acquired a controlling influence in a local political party called "Samhällets bästa" (The Best for the Community), which came into being before the elections in 1973. The aim of the party, also found in other coastal villages, has been to protect the interests of small communities against the new amalgamated municipalities that were formed during the 1960s and 1970s (cf. Rehnberg 1974). It won about 80 per cent of the votes on Åstol. The ballot papers from 1973 to 1982 show that the members of the Elim congregation occupied the first places on the lists of candidates. The Pentecostalists became the main representatives of the party on local municipal committees. This should be seen in the light of the fact that they attended the nomination meetings in large numbers and were thus able to control the drawing up of the lists, done by a secret ballot. The only local organization of any size that the Pentecostal congregation was not able to gain any real ascendancy over was the Sports Club (see above).

The store

Even in the ICA store, which was the only shop in the locality after the Konsum store closed down in 1979, it was possible to discern the influence of the Pentecostal Movement. The storekeeper (born in 1928) was one of the first to be converted in the revival of 1948. He, his wife and three children have been among the most active



The storekeeper Dane Gustavsson in 1979. Photo: Göteborgsposten, Gothenburg.

families in the Pentecostal congregation, especially in the song and music group. He did not sell snuff, cigarettes or beer when he became a storekeeper in 1963. It was just at that time when the Pentecostal congregation had expanded. He thought that snuff, cigarettes and beer were harmful to the body. As the consumption of these commodities went against his religious convictions, he denied himself the economic gain their sale could bring (report in the newspaper *Göteborgsposten*, Aug. 26th 1979). In the 1980s he was forced to sell snuff and tobacco by the Swedish business concern Vivo, and he was not able to deny even if he wanted to. But he continued to refuse to to sell beer until he retired at the beginning of the 1990s.

External minorities reacting against religious dominance

How have the outsiders among the local inhabitants, both former residents and new ones, reacted as the Pentecostal congregation extended its influence over many sectors in the life of the community? How have they adapted themselves and how have they put up opposition?

External accommodation

One strategy was to accommodate one's behaviour to the norms that the dominant Elim congregation defended. One example is that the Sports Club did not hold competitions or training sessions on Sundays or at times on Saturday evenings when the Pentecostal congregation had their youth meetings. The members on the Sports committee who did not belong to the congregation have emphasized the importance of being on good terms with it. This should be seen in connection with the fact that the young people in the congregation were an important source of recruits for the sports activities. Young people from "outside" made also an effort not to swear when youngsters from the congregation took part in competitions and training sessions.

As long as the Elim congregation was a minority, up until the revival in 1948-51, it had hardly any effect on the way of life outside the group, especially during the period of recession in the 1930s and 1940s. In an obvious minority position it was impossible to exert any social pressure on the local milieu. Many interviewees, both from within and outside the congregation, have related how common the consumption of alcohol was, not least during the Second World War. This stands in stark contrast to the outward adaptation that took place with regard to alcohol during the 1960s and 1970s. Informants both from the congregation and outside it have pointed out that in these decades hardly any cases of intoxication in public have occurred. Nor have villagers outside the congregation openly protested against the ICA store not selling snuff, cigarettes and beer.

The new residents, who experienced other norms in the towns, made an effort in their early years to accommodate themselves to the dominant norms in the new locality. Their motive for doing so was to avoid being ignored socially. They could not use their higher social standing (see above) to behave in a way that deviated too much from the norms that were of crucial importance to, and defended by, the dominant group.

Sanctions applied on norms being breached consisted both of direct admonishments regarding the unsuitability of that kind of behaviour and indirect actions. In the latter case, members of the Elim congregation have cast stern looks and shown no wish to speak to the person or persons who offended against one or more of the norms, not least that of keeping the Sabbath. By means of these two forms of sanctions new residents have learned which norms predominated in the community and which ones they had to conform to if they wished to be socially acceptable.

The children of new residents have also provided an important source of information. When they visited children from Pentecostalist families they were told what one did, and did not do, in the village. The intention was that the children of the new residents should tell their parents of this, which is what they have done. The Pentecostalist families deemed it essential to inform the new residents at the earliest opportunity of the norms they stood up for.

The owners of summer cottages have also experienced a similar need to accommodate themselves in order to avoid being ignored socially. The norms were impressed mainly through indirect sanctions when someone offended them, but there were also instances of direct reproach. This applies especially to keeping the Sabbath. This contributed to the fact that some summer cottage-owners sold their houses and left the district after a short while. One of the reasons they have given for this was that they found it difficult to observe dominating norms in the coastal community that deviated markedly from those they were used to.

Covert behaviour

Besides the visible forms of behaviour characterized by accommodation, outsiders have also developed other forms which they tried to keep hidden. This came about in order to avoid the sanctions from the Elim congregation. This covert behaviour was an expression of silent protest against, and dissatisfaction with, the ascendancy of the congregation. In this situation of dominance, the way of life of the outsiders gained, on the one hand, an official harmonious side, characterized by accommodation to the norms of the dominant group. On the other hand, covert forms of behaviour occurred inside the homes or in places hidden from view, which was an expression of latent opposition.

Consuming alcohol in a secluded place

The hidden side was most marked with regard to the use of intoxicating liquor both among the youths who had grown up on the island, but who were not members of the congregation, and among new residents. This was linked up to the increase in social pressure that the Pentecostal congregation directed against alcohol. During the 1960s, when outsiders could no longer consume alcohol in places where members of the Pentecostal congregation could notice it, some young people outside the congregation began to do this in a few inaccessible clefts in the rocks on the eastern side of Åstol. These youths were those who were most isolated from the congregation and who seldom or never attended a meeting. None of the young people in the Elim congregation came to this meeting-place. They didn't even try to get the others to give up drinking alcohol. The Pentecostalists knew about it but wished to pass it over in silence. The social exclusion of these young people was a part of the pattern of sanctions. These youths, in their turn, felt abandoned by their contemporaries in the Pentecostal congregation.

However, the meetings among the rocks grew fewer in the mid-1970s and soon stopped altogether. This should be seen in the light of the fact that the Sports Club restarted at this point (see above). The young people who had consumed alcohol in

A solitary cabin in inaccessible clefts where some young people outside the Pentecostal congregation consumed alcohol secretly during the 1960s and in the early 1970s. Photo: Anders Gustavsson, 1981.

secret began to take an increasing part in table tennis, ice hockey and, later on, body building. Some of them were elected as members of the Sports Club committee at the end of the 1970s and thus had responsibility for training sessions. A number of the young people have stated that it became easier to give up drinking when they were given another alternative to attract their interest and activate them. They no longer needed to feel as socially unacceptable as before. On the contrary, in the Sports Club they experienced a social support that came to replace the fellowship in the Elim congregation from which they felt excluded.

Buying pornographic literature on the sly

Another example of covert behaviour concerned the sale of magazines of a pornographic nature in a café for a short period during the 1960s. The café owner (born in 1921), who grew up on the island but who had not belonged to the Pentecostal congregation was careful to keep these magazines out of sight behind the counter during the time he sold them. The youths outside the congregation who wanted to buy the magazines knew of this. No sales took place if any member of the Elim congregation was in the café. Both the café owner and the youths who bought the magazines were afraid of sanctions if they should be found out. After a few months the café stopped these sales for fear of being discovered by members of the Pentecostal congregation.

The consumption of alcohol in the rock clefts and the buying of pornographic magazines involved young people who grew up on Åstol. New residents, in common with summer visitors, have reported that in some cases they have done some work inside their houses on Sundays. They have felt it important not to be observed.

Covert criticism through oral accounts

Covert criticism of, and dissatisfaction with, the religious dominance may also be detected in the stories of a critical nature told by outsiders about members of the Elim congregation. This folklore has originated and has been propagated internally among the outsiders. It could serve as an instrument for indirectly asserting themselves against the dominance that in their innermost hearts they were protesting against, even if they accommodated themselves outwardly. These critical accounts were a means of detracting from the good name of the Pentecostalists and, by doing so, counteracting the feelings of the outsiders about the opposite party's superior position and their own inferior one.

Accounts in EFS about the first generation of Pentecostalists

Among the members of the EFS, who all belonged to an older generation, the critical oral accounts only applied to the first generation of Pentecostalists, especially their leaders during the 1920s. This should be seen in connection with the antagonism

that arose between EFS and the Pentecostal congregation at that time (see above) and that has never been overcome. The covert dissatisfaction in EFS has apparently grown as time went on, the more the Elim congregation came to dominate the community while their own inferior position was reinforced. The critical accounts were felt to be of even greater importance then.

One category of negative accounts bears in mind the differences in religious beliefs that the Pentecostalists represent. These views were presented as preposterous or ridiculous. One example is the idea that was supposed to exist that you become free from sin after conversion (cf. chapter 7, reg. the Free Friends in Norway). One informant (born in 1896) said that during the first period Pentecostalists could often declare as follows: "I haven't sinned for 10 days" at the same time referring to the Bible (First Epistle of John 3: 9). The Pentecostalists themselves, even those who belonged to the first generation, have disassociated themselves from this view. This playing down of the belief in freedom from sin took place after the first revival period in the 1920s. This should be seen in the light of the fact that the Pentecostalists were criticized openly when they formed a minority in the community. However, outsiders could continue to spread stories about conceptions such as these during the first period to their own advantage. This happened in a latent conflict situation, in which the inferior footing of the outsiders was further established.

Another prominent conception during the first period of the Pentecostal congregation, criticized in accounts by members in EFS, was the belief in faith healing. There is evidence of this in contemporary sources in the Pentecostal Movement, such as when someone who signed himself "a member" wrote about Åstol in the magazine of the Pentecostal Movement *Evangelii Härold* (The Herald of the Evangelic Message) on January 22nd, 1925:

> The sick have been healed. A brother who has suffered from a chronic illness for six years and sought medical help in vain has now been made whole by the Lord.

This belief, too, was played down by the Pentecostalists as time passed. The open criticism from outsiders during the early days of the congregation certainly had a bearing on this. However, this belief has lived on in folklore, as in the account by a man (born in 1892) in EFS about a Pentecostalist in the 1920s who suffered from severe asthma. When this man had joined the Elim congregation and came out of a meeting, he called out that he had been healed in the Elim chapel.

> But a day or two later, I met him and then he complained again about how sick he was. He hung over a fence and said, 'I think I'm dying. I can't breathe'. That was how long that faith healing lasted.

Beliefs such as speaking with tongues and spiritual baptism also distinguished the Pentecostal congregation from EFS. At an early date members in EFS voiced sharp criticism of the fact that at meetings in the Elim chapel people carried on in an altogether too violent, positively unsuitable or indecent way because of the speaking with tongues. The parson at Rönnäng wrote in his official report in 1927 that "the speakers with tongues aroused public ridicule. This applies to the so-called 'spiritual baptism' as well" (Rönnäng Church records). Stories began to circulate in the community about what went on at meetings.

> They switched off the lights and they crawled round each other, all round each other, and they got up to all sorts of things. It's stupid to switch off the lights when I'm going to pray to God. People who lived near Elim never had any peace at night, related one spokesman (born in 1892, cf. *Svenska pingstväckelsen* 1956: 53).

The people round about particularly noticed the loud shouts inside the chapel. It was convenient to weave stories about this in a situation of tension. The accounts served to strengthen the antipathy that was felt towards the Pentecostalists. That this happened at an early date is evident from an official report in 1927 from the parson in Rönnäng, mentioning

> the so-called angel dance. This consisted of the participants at the evening meetings taking off their clothes and wrapping themselves in sheets of cloth and jumping around. However, this came to a sudden end.

The overt criticism voiced by local people after the revivals in the 1920s certainly contributed to the later modification of the noisy speaking with tongues and calling out of prayers at meetings. Many of the younger Pentecostalists have reported that they talked with tongues either in a low voice or in silence in God's presence. Other Pentecostalists round about were hardly able to notice this. The critical accounts about the speaking with tongues and the loud calling out of prayers during the first period have, nevertheless, not died away but, if anything, have gathered strength in the new situation in which the Elim congregation had been a dominant group.

In EFS people have even wished to point out the differences in behavioural norms. In Elim, especially in the first period, much more importance was attached than in EFS to "the external things", as the informants put it. The emphasis laid on the many and strict behavioural norms of the Pentecostalists formed the starting-point for the critical accounts about the alleged covert breach of norms which many of the first generation of Pentecostalists were supposed to be guilty of. For one thing, the men

were supposed to have taken snuff on the sly. One informant (born in 1892) told of a Pentecostalist who warned others that "as many as take snuff will go to Hell". But some of those outside the congregation observed that he kept snuffboxes under his boathouse and often sneaked off there.

Other accounts were related to the dishonesty that was supposed to have existed among the early Pentecostalists. One of the leading men was supposed, for instance, to have sold one of his fishing vessels in the 1920s to Dyrön without informing the buyer that it had once gone aground and had been damaged. The informant (born in 1896) pointed out that: "This was treachery. It was dangerous that the buyer wasn't told about it. The boat could have sunk with the crew and all, if it took on a bigger cargo than it could stand after that accident." The difference compared with the 1920s and 1930s when the Pentecostal congregation was in the minority is that the criticism from the little EFS group was in later years not voiced so openly, but that instead it occurred in the guise of critical accounts.

Accounts about the Pentecostalists after the revivals of the 1940s and 1960s

Critical accounts among the younger generation of outsiders who did not belong to EFS concerned Pentecostalists who joined the congregation during the revivals of 1948-51 and the 1960s. They were found both among those who grew up on the island and among new residents. Alleged covert breach of norms also played an important part here. The conditions necessary for the appearance of those stories and internal propagation among the minorities increased in scope with the increase in the influence of the Elim congregation beyond its own group. In a situation of this kind, a minority group can reinforce its position and reduce the feeling of dependence if it points out that the Pentecostalists themselves had not always observed the behavioural norms that they required even outsiders to conform to.

Some of the critical accounts, especially those related by new residents, maintained that some of the Pentecostalists were able to drink a glass of beer or wine if they were invited to do so by a new resident or summer visitor. The condition was that no other Pentecostalist should notice. One new resident (born in 1953) reported that "if I offer one Pentecostalist wine, he takes it, but not if there are two of them". Other tales asserted that young people in the Pentecostalist congregation, which has laid such emphasis on the prohibition of beer, snuff and cigarettes, have sought compensation by increasing their consumption of sweets.

Certain members of the Elim congregation have been accused of dishonesty in economic matters (cf. similar accusations on the island Smögen, see chapter 9). Leading families in the congregation were supposed to have gone in for smuggling during the heyday of deep-sea fishing in the 1960s. They were supposed to have bought cheap farm produce in Danish ports on their way home from the fishing grounds.

However, they omitted to declare these purchases in customs as they should have done by law. Included in the covert breach of norms, according to the accounts of the outsiders, were the inner conflicts that were supposed to have made them felt between families in the Pentecostal congregation. One new resident (born in 1940) declared that

> You'd have thought that people of the same faith would have stuck together, but I've stood in the shop and heard what evil things they can say about each other. It doesn't fit in with their faith. It's strange how they can behave like that towards each other.

One of the most common themes in the critical accounts was the desire for money and economic gain which was supposed to distinguish the members of the Elim congregation. Outsiders have pointed out that the Pentecostalists attached more importance to money than to faith and the norms they have guarded so strongly. As an example of this, they have pointed out their adaptation to shift-work on Sundays and holy days (see above). One new resident (born in 1940) declared that

> it seems as if they think that as long as I get paid I can work on Sundays, but otherwise there's a lot of fuss if anyone works on Sundays. I've also heard that the Pentecostalists here on the island are supposed to have asked to work on Sundays. They wanted to be free certain weekdays and then go fishing for profit or work on their houses.

The latent conflict situation expressed in the critical accounts has had a part in making the Pentecostalists feel that the local inhabitants kept them under observation. Many in the younger generation, especially, who have joined since the 1960s, have reported that they have found this invisible watch over their way of life irritating. One returning resident (born in 1949) stated that, "Outsiders have a thing about the way we live. We are watched. We feel the pressure of 'Can you who belong to the Elim people live like that?'"

A common defensive action against the external pressure was the assertion made by the Pentecostalists that the people around them over-emphasized the importance of the rules within the Elim congregation. For them faith was the main thing and that which distinguished them from the world outside. The rules were secondary and there were none besides those that could be traced to the Bible (cf. Struble 1982). One woman (born in 1948) reported that, "Many think that what there is in Elim is only based on prohibition. For us, belief in God is enough. We don't need any other means of enjoyment". However, the fact that criticism from the people round about has par-

ticularly concerned the norms in the Pentecostal congregation and how they are observed is natural. It was the forms of behaviour and not the religious belief that other people in the local milieu had come most into contact with in their daily life.

Overt criticism among the new residents and growing polarization

From the late 1970s onwards increasing overt criticism began to develop among the outsiders of the religious domination of community life. Some of the new residents took the lead, but only after they had lived on the island for a few years. By then they had established themselves by an external accommodation to the norms that were predominant in the local milieu (see above). However, this accommodation was felt to be difficult as the new residents had formerly experienced other norms in the towns. For the outsiders who had lived on the island all their lives, adaptation to the new situation of dominance could be easier because they had been in contact with the Pentecostalist norms for a longer time. Nor did they have as much other experience or many impressions from the world outside to compare with, as the new residents and summer visitors had.

The overt criticism from the new residents appeared when the percentage of the Elim congregation out of the total population had decreased somewhat, partly as a result of the growing number of new residents. The more numerous they became, the more the conditions changed so that opposition need not merely be expressed by means of critical accounts among the likeminded. The open criticism has been voiced at public meetings, among others those arranged by the Community Organization and has, for instance, been connected with the store. This became very obvious in 1981 and 1982. One man, who moved to Åstol in 1973, pointed out at a meeting in June 1982: “Why should we who live on Åstol be placed under guardianship so that we aren’t able to buy snuff, tobacco or beer in the only shop on the island?” (cf. report in the newspaper *Bohusläningen*, June 25, 1982). As an example of the covert opposition that existed among many on the island, he referred to the many occasions when he had been asked by other Åstol inhabitants to buy snuff, tobacco or beer when he traveled to and from his place of work. The storekeeper wasn’t consistent either, when he refrained from selling snuff, tobacco and beer which were harmful to the body, but not from sweets that are bad for children’s teeth. “There are no morals left then.”

Leaders in the Pentecostal congregation have expressed surprise that people round about had begun to be critical, including the new resident above. However, they did not give way in this open conflict situation that had grown up, but gave the storekeeper strong support at the meetings. In this way the polarization was reinforced

even more. The overt criticism from new residents concurred with the reappearance of the Sports Club from the mid-1970s as an alternative which the Elim congregation had not succeeded in controlling. Many of the new residents had assumed prominent posts there (see above). Even in the spiritual field, outsiders, led by new residents, began looking for other alternatives in the early 1980s. The deaconess and the parson at Rönnäng received enquiries about arranging an alternative activity for children, and this started in 1982 under the auspices of the Swedish Church.

Acquiring alternatives to the dominant Pentecostal congregation in various sectors of community life is in keeping with the earlier experiences of new residents from urban milieux. This becomes a struggle for pluralism, for the rights of different groups to deviant behaviour, in comparison with the uniformity that the Pentecostal congregation had come to represent. When its percentage of the total population had fallen and new alternatives had appeared, its opportunities for maintaining its dominance outside its own group decreased. Some of the new residents then began to show less consideration towards the norms in the Elim congregation and this evolution has been strengthened more and more over time.

Summary

This chapter has shown that periods of revival and intermediary periods of recession have succeeded one another in a way indicating the development of a process. Those who have taken the lead have all belonged to the younger generation. Involvement in the revivals has often been a means of protesting against the middle generation. In this connection, open conflicts arose within the families, but also in relation to other groups in the local milieu. At first, the conflicts had the character of conflicts of values, but later they also developed into conflicts of interests, when the revival movement had reinforced its numerical position.

In the first phase of a revival the members have been characterized by religious awareness. In a later phase, when an increasing number of people in the local milieu have joined, the motives which many have had for joining have been more social than religious. People wished to attain social benefits in the form of the fellowship and higher social status that the religious group could provide. This meant that they were less closely connected with its views and norms. These members were more inclined to leave or be excluded later on than those who joined at the beginning of the revival.

In a coastal village such as Åstol, it was the men who took the lead in the revival movements. Their contact with the outside world was greater and this provided them with many new impulses. The women, on the other hand, answered for the continu-

ity between the periods of revival. The recruitment of new members, which took place within the group, has mainly involved them. Fewer women than men have left or have been excluded from the group.

To understand why the revivals come into existence, it is necessary to consider how various factors have co-operated. Changes in the economy and the ways of earning a living, as well as shipwrecks and the escalation of danger at sea in wartime, created suitable external situations. If a revivalist preacher with charismatic powers with regard to presenting a message that demanded an immediate personal decision then appeared at times such as these, the optimal conditions for revival arose. These factors have an interdependent relationship.

The continuity between the periods of revival, in the sense that the members retained their involvement and did not leave, is encouraged if they have been activated by, for instance, singing and playing instruments together and have experienced social benefits within the group. It is also essential that the competition regarding interest from the local milieu has been limited. When considerable social changes occurred, as exemplified by the growth of sport, TV and shift-work, it was necessary for the group to show flexibility so that its fundamental views and norms would not be too strongly antagonistic towards the changes in social conditions. If this had not been done, internal conflicts among the members could have contributed to their withdrawal.

A revival movement can also extend its influence beyond its own group. This occurs if the numerical strength of the group has been considerably reinforced. At this stage it can function as a dominant local culture whose views and norms are stamped on the way of life of the people and on public life, such as in school education and politics. At the same time, the minorities felt their positions threatened. If the new dominance has become powerful, it becomes difficult for the overt criticism from the people round about to make itself heard. Externally a harmonious relationship has then grown up, shown in the fact that outsiders accommodated themselves to the fundamental norms of the dominant group. Simultaneously, latent conflicts existed under the surface. This has been expressed in covert behaviour of various types and in critical accounts about the dominant group. This happens particularly among groups which feel inferior to any other group in a local setting. Only when the situation of dominance was weakened, was it possible for more open forms of criticism to exist, as was the case during the period from the 1920s to the 1940s when the dominant religious group was in the minority.

One aim of this local study on Åstol is that it will form a comparison study to parallel studies within other religious denominations. In that connection I wish to refer to an ongoing investigation in Finland. The sociologist Andreas Häger is studying the intra-church revival movement called Laestadians in the rural municipality of

Larsmo in the archipelago off the western coast of Finland. His perspective is present-day life and norm systems in this municipality where the Laestadians make up almost half of the population, similar to the situation on Åstol after the revivals in the years 1948-1951. Häger has found that the strong numerical position of the Laestadians in many cases has influenced the lifestyles also of the non-Laestadians, for instance concerning Sunday rest. He writes: "It is obvious that the organizers of many activities, including sports, are attempting to adapt to the Laestadians" (Häger 2012: 17). In his text I can discern many evident similarities with what I have found as regards the majority position of the Pentecostal movement on Åstol.

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  - Rolls of members, account books, minutes of meetings, annual reports, regulations for EFS and DUF

Lund
- Kyrkohistoriska arkivet (The Church History Archives) (LUKA)
  - Responses to questionnaire 1 Ecclesiastical Folk-life Research
  - Responses to a questionnaire on revival movements drawn up by Anders Gustavsson

Rönnäng
- Rönnäng Church Records (covering Dyrön, Klädesholmen, Rönnäng and Åstol)
  - Population Statistics 1900-
  - Register of Births and Baptisms
  - Register of Confirmations
  - Register of Banns and Marriages
  - Register of Deaths and Burials
  - Register of Public Announcements
  - Register of Removals into and out of Parishes
  - Official Reports on Occasion of Episcopal Visitations and Pastoral Meetings 1895-

Skärhamn
- Archives of the Municipality of Tjörn
  - Income Tax Rolls referring to the inhabitants in the municipalities of Åstol and Dyrön 1900-1959

Rolls of members on the Municipal Council on Åstol 1920-1959 and on the Municipal Council in the Municipality of Tjörn 1960-

Stockholm

Archives of the Philadelphia Congregation

Letters from missionaries sent out by the Elim congregation on Åstol

Picture Archives of the Nordic Museum

Illustrative material

Folklore Collection of the Nordic Museum

Interview material collected during field work in the spring of 1981 on Klädesholmen and Åstol

City Archives

Archives of the Evangelical National Missionary Society (EFS)

Correspondence between the national organization of EFS and pastors and congregation members on Dyrön and Åstol

Uddevalla

Bohuslän Museum

Illustrative material

Interview material collected during fieldwork on Dyrön in 1982

Åstol

Evangelical National Missionary Society (EFS)

Rolls of members, account books, minutes of meetings, annual reports, regulations for EFS and DUF

The Sports Club/Table-Tennis Club

Minutes of meetings, annual reports

The Pentecostal Congregation Elim

Members' rolls, account books, minutes of meetings, annual reports, correspondence

The Community Organization

Minutes of meetings, annual reports

Private persons

Letters, photographs, collections of newspaper cuttings, handwritten song books

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Abbreviations

DUF The Youth Association within the Evangelical National Missionary Society
EFS The Evangelical National Missionary Society
LUKA The Church History Archives, Lund
SMF The Swedish Missionary Society

7
The Free Friends in a Southern Norwegian Coastal District. A Local Revival Movement as a Minority Culture

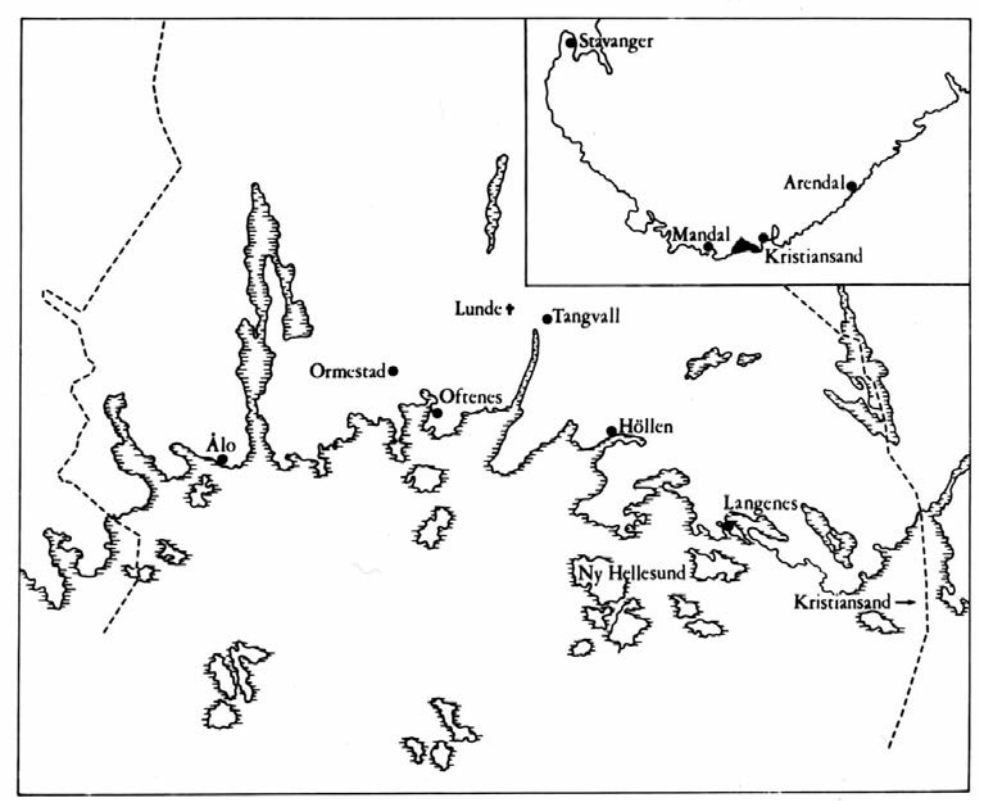
When the interdisciplinary Kattegat-Skagerrak project on cultural developments in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries was begun in the 1980s, there were early discussions as to the possibility of carrying out comparative local studies in various Scandinavian coastal villages. By applying the same problem areas to these different coastal environments it would be possible to discuss more general features in cultural development. What parallels and what differences were there? Why, in turn, was this?

One of the sub-projects, a study of the development of religious revival movements in the coastal regions, made use of these comparative perspectives. One of the aims I have developed is to follow the growth of various revival movements and how they supplant one another on a local level. How is this related to individual religious leaders and their revival message, i.e. ideological reasons, versus changes in social and economic conditions? What competition and what oppositions, or co-operation and contact arise between revival movements on the local level? How are people who join a revival movement received by those who remain outside it? Can this be seen in the oral tradition surrounding the revival movement? This is a question of examining how groups' stories about one another serve as active instruments in group relations.

One other important question is how the ideology of a revival movement affects the world-view of its members, their norms and ways of life after their conversion. How are the norms retained within the group and how are they passed on from one generation to the next? Have the revival movements influenced local community life outside the movement itself? For me as an ethnologist, it is important to study the prerequisites for and the effects of the revival movements.

The project participants from Denmark, Norway and Sweden carried out a joint fieldwork project based on some of these problem areas. The project was held in the municipality of Søgne some 20 kilometers west of Kristiansand in southern Norway (fig. 1). Some of our material was comprised of contemporary sources such as letters,

diaries and photographs which were traced, using interviews, through private individuals. The interviewees were chosen from among members of various religious associations. The informants were first requested to tell both about older revival movements they had heard of and about ones they had experienced themselves and could remember.



The Søgne coastal region. The Free Friends were centered in Tangvall, with meeting houses in Høllen, Lunde and Ormestad. Drawing: Hanna Nerman, Lund.

Throughout the nineteenth and long into the twentieth century, Søgne was characterized by agriculture, fishing and shipping, often combined within the same family. There have been a number of distinguishable revival movements since the 1870s, and many individuals have experienced a personal conversion within a short period of time. Some of the years most marked by revival movements were 1873, 1878, 1909, 1928, 1933-34, 1944, 1956 and 1963. As opposed to the situation in Sweden, revival movements in Norway have primarily remained within the State Church. The dominant movement was known as the Home Mission, and it was firmly established

beginning in the nineteenth century in the rural areas of southern and western Norway. It was prominent in the coastal regions (Slettan 1992, Seland & Aagedal 2008).

Anlaug Tangvall (1864-1950) outside her home around 1920. She was one of the very first women to join the Free Friends. A simple meeting room was established in her home in 1923. Photo privately owned.

The Free Friends and the Pentecostal Movement

Here I will deal with one free-church group, the Free Friends, which broke with the Norwegian State Church in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century. In Søgne it took a clearly minority position in comparison with the Home Mission and with the other active churchgoers in the State Church. Its nature as a revival movement can be seen through its emphasis on personal conversion. My questions were centered on recruitment and ideology. How were their relationships with the religious majority groups, the Home Mission and the State churchgoers? What did the Free Friends think of them and how can that be seen in their stories about them? What, in turn, did the majority groups have to say about the Free Friends?

This revival movement was most strongly lodged in villages in southern Norway (Froholt 1981). It arose in Søgne in the late 1910s mostly through impulses from the town of Kristiansand. In their ideology and norms of living, the Free Friends are quite reminiscent of the Pentecostal Movement which began to develop in Norway in the early twentieth century. Like the Pentecostal Movement, blessing instead of baptism of children was practized, along with a baptism of faith in adulthood. Spiritual baptism, speaking in tongues, and prophecy of the future are prominent elements. In both these movements the Bible holds a central position as the guideline for faith and way of life. Every local congregation is entirely independent. One major difference between the Free Friends and the Pentecostal congregations is that the former has had no external forms of organization in the local congregation. This has been motivated by its being seen as sufficient that the names of the members were written into the book of life in heaven. On the other hand, this lack of registers makes it impossible to have any practice of excluding members, such as there has been in the Pentecostal Movement.

Sea baptism west of Søgne around 1940. These outdoor baptisms usually drew large crowds of spectators. Photo privately owned.

Social and Economic Structure

The first members of the Free Friends were primarily women. They gave witness, prophesied, explicated Bible texts, spoke in tongues, sang and played music at the meetings and were the first to undergo adult baptism. Our interviews have left a clear impression that these women belonged to the lowest social classes. Many of them were spinsters or widows with children to support. Knowing that these women lived in poverty, it can be assumed that the ideal of satisfaction with small means was preached at the meetings. There they were often warned against a lust for money or social climbing. There were no efforts to improve the economic conditions of the group. There was no question of an open protest movement. It can also be seen that the women did not become involved in politics despite their difficult economic conditions. Initially, men were hesitant or directly against joining.

What, then, is the explanation for the origin and rise of the Free Friends in the 1920s? At this same time there was also a revival with several personal conversions in the Home Mission. This reinforced the position of the Home Mission as the religious majority group in Søgne. This revival period also coincides in time with occurrences in coastal villages of western Sweden. In the western Swedish studies I

have examined, the significance for these revival movements was the considerable economic decline in fishing. Catches grew smaller and prices grew increasingly lower. In addition to the worsened economic situation, there was increasing insecurity due to the large number of shipwrecks during and after the First World War. This created much new anxiety among fishing populations and seafarers. One interpretation indicates that external crises, including personal experiences such as shipwrecks in the area or difficult illnesses, may have increased receptivity to religious messages (see chapter 6). This may be considered one of the relevant factors in the understanding of the growth of the Free Friends, since these particular individuals came from the least well-off classes. It is probable that poor women felt this movement to be an alternative for them. In the State Church and the Home Mission the more established classes or the middle class, i.e. farmers, fishermen and shipmasters were prominent. Those around them probably found social recruitment among the Free Friends deviant.

Social distance may have been an emotional hindrance for members of the middle and upper social classes joining. Hardly any farmers, fishermen or shipmasters attended the meetings of the Free Friends. Some of the interviewees from the more established social classes gave as their motivation for not participating, the fact that those who attended the Free Friends were considered as being worse, or even considered to be "the underclass".

The Religious Ideology

Social stratification cannot be the only explanation for recruitment to the Free Friends, at least not the distinctions within the lower classes. Some of these individuals joined the Free Friends, but not everyone. There must have been other operative factors as well. It is also important to discuss the possible significance of the ideological side, i.e. the religious message. Which of the precepts of the Free Friends deviated from the ideologies of the Home Mission and the State Church?

Important lines of demarcation included belief in a baptism of faith, spiritual baptism and speaking in tongues, but also a lighter sense of Christianity than the more serious atmosphere that the older informants say they met in the Home Mission when they were young. It was their impression that learning about sin and death was too dominant, while the Free Friends emphasized their joy over the salvation of their converts, who had gained personal faith. The promise of this joy could be most attractive to individuals living under the most pressing economic and social conditions. Through its very content the new religion presented an alternative to the conditions of social subservience and economic need they were experiencing. The new teaching made it

possible, in this life, to compensate for difficult external conditions. This interpretation is meant to indicate the interplay of social, economic and ideological conditions.

Conflicts with Other Religious Groups

Divergent points of view, including that on sin, led to opposition between the Free Friends and the Home Mission. The more latent nature of these conflicts can be seen in the stories members of both groups have told about one another. For example, among the Free Friends there have been implications about the striving for economic success which is said to have characterized members of the Home Mission. In some cases, it is even said that they made themselves guilty of fraudulent behavior in order to gain an economic advantage. Critically aimed folklore directed against others is used in such contexts as an active instrument in a tense situation where people have felt themselves threatened and placed in a subordinate position. In the Home Mission, on the other hand, there have been stories told in a denigrating tone about strange occurrences which are said to have taken place at meetings of the Free Friends. Negatively aimed folklore in these cases is directed at marking the lowest boundary toward a minority group with a deviant ideology. As long as the stories are kept within the group they are indicative of latent oppositions. Conflicts between the groups have, however, also received more open expression. Members of the Free Friends have, for example, been called names, particularly during the early days of the movement. The Free Friends have been accused of teaching freedom from sin to their converts. In the conflict situation which has arisen, the Free Friends have played down or entirely denied these points of view, and they have also been more restrictive in their practice of speaking in tongues. Conflicts between the Free Friends and other religious groups continued even under the difficult external situation presented by the Second World War. This indicates that the oppositions were deep-seated.

Contacts with Other Religions Groups

It is possible, aside from the social distance, the differences in ideology and the external oppositions, to trace any tangible similarities in beliefs and norms and any contacts between the Free Friends and the Home Mission. There are a number of common norms regarding way of life. Both groups represented, in the early twentieth century, similar ascetic, pietistic points of view regarding “adiaphorisms” including dancing, clothing and alcohol. Life was outlined in terms of a number of rules and prohibitions protected by the group. The interviews make it clear that there was some contact be-

tween the Free Friends and other groups, since some of them mention having gone to occasional religious services in the State Church and to the Home Mission meetings. The clearest contact with other families in Søgne, however, was through the Free Friends' Sunday school, after its beginning in 1940. Parents' motivation for letting their children attend this Sunday school was primarily that the teacher never touched on questions in which the Free Friends have strongly deviant points of view from the Home Mission and the State Church. The guidelines for this Sunday school helped to play down previous conflicts. At the same time, the Free Friends were able to reach more maturing individuals with the biblical messages considered to be held in common by many religious groups.

The Free Friends' Sunday school on a summer outing around 1950. Many of the children's parents accompanied them on these occasions. Photo privately owned.

Summary

One of the first positive experiences from this joint Scandinavian fieldwork was that a forum was created for discussions among researchers in various historically oriented disciplines. A regional, comparative study like this one in Søgne has given re-

searchers a better ideal of both parallels and distinguishing features in the cultural processes of revival movements. The time in which important revival movements arose in western Sweden and southern Norwegian coastal villages is nearly parallel. This reinforces my theory, based on studies in coastal villages in western Sweden, that local revival movements occur in temporal waves. Strong revival periods have been followed by periods of recession which have taken over quickly and which have been characterized by conflicts within the groups, among other matters. After a number of years the recession has been followed by new and notable revival movements.

This type of parallel development between various coastal regions in Scandinavia also indicates that local revival movements should not be seen out of their larger context – occurrences on the macro level in the form of both economic developments and ideological trends. Experiences from my studies indicate that the economy, the social structure, ideology, leading figures, and the personal experiences of the individuals may, not separately but compositely, explain the complexity of the developments which have occurred with regard to revival movements.

Unpublished sources

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- The Free Friends
  - Diaries
  - Letters
  - Photographs
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8
Free-Church Membership and Folk Beliefs. Conflict or Accommodation?

When free-church revivalist movements appeared in Sweden from the latter half of the nineteenth century onwards, new ideologies and attendant systems of beliefs came face to face with traditional beliefs. It is of interest to know what the consequences of this were. Did it mean that members of the free churches broke completely with the old beliefs held by their contemporaries when they were converted? The question does not only concern their view of God, but also traditional beliefs in supernatural beings such as goblins, trolls and ghosts (cf. af Klintberg 1968, Pentikäinen 1969, Almquist 1984). Furthermore, what has been the attitude of free-church members to beliefs in premonition about the future?

The church historian Hilding Pleijel has pointed out that traditional beliefs of this kind did not disappear in the Nordic countries after the introduction of Christianity during medieval times or after the Reformation (Pleijel 1970, cf. Ljungberg 1938, Honko 1962). Among the people these beliefs continued to exist side by side with official religious beliefs. No investigation has, however, been made of how free-church members behaved in relation to traditional beliefs of this kind when they adopted the new religious ideology. The ethnological and folklore archives in Sweden do not contain any information that can provide an answer to this question. Hardly any of their informants have been members of the free churches. Collectors of information outside the free churches have, in certain cases, provided some generally-held views, such as: "The free-church movement came about 100 years ago and changed many things, so that drunkenness and superstition largely disappeared" (informant born 1877 in Torpa, Småland, recorded in 1954, LUF M 13 023: 6). Similarly, in 1939, the folklorist Gunnar Granberg put forward the idea, without proving it, that the revival movements had succeeded "with something in some places that the strict Lutheran orthodoxy had not managed, namely, in eradicating popular beliefs". He pointed out that the "preachers in these movements" repudiated "the existence of nature spirits" (Granberg 1939). What was the position regarding ghosts, the belief in dead people who return to earth? In 1958, the Danish researcher Henning Henningsen declared, in a similar way, that pietism and the "Home Mission" in Denmark "had firmly denounced all kinds of 'superstition' as being un-Christian" (Henningsen 1958: 109). A

similar opinion about the effect of the "Home Mission" was put forward by the Danish folklore collector Evald Tang Kristensen as early as at the end of the twentieth century (Christiansen 2011).

I want to try and throw new light on the question asked here by using the personal experiences of some members of the free churches as a basis. The interview material was collected during fieldwork along the coast of western Sweden. This took place as a part of the project "Folklore in maritime environments", which was conducted in collaboration with the Folklore Archives of the Nordic Museum in Stockholm. This project was included in the Scandinavian "Kattegat-Skagerrak Project". The free-church congregations that were represented consisted of the Swedish Missionary Society (SMF) and the Pentecostal Movement on the islands of Smögen and Tjörn in Bohuslän. In both these places, the SMF congregations were already established in the 1870s (*I Herrens tjänst* 1979, see also chapter 6 and 9).

Hearing and seeing supernatural beings

Informants in both the SMF and the Pentecostal Movement, born during the first two decades of the twentieth century, have witnessed as to their belief in the existence of supernatural beings, primarily ghosts, but also celestial beings such as angels. They have been able to both hear and see these beings, as well as being able to experience premonitions. One man (born 1904), a smallholder in Klövedal on the island of Tjörn, had belonged to the SMF congregation since adolescence and his parents were also members. He described several experiences of contacts with a supernatural world of this kind, especially ghosts. These experiences occurred both during the day and in the evening or at night, sometimes while he was going to or coming from the chapel. They took place both during his youth and later in life. He told, amongst other things, of how he met the teacher he had had in his first grade class outside the school house.

> I came cycling along and had just been to the chapel. A woman in a long skirt was walking along the road, but it was impossible to catch up with her. When she got to the bend by the school house, she disappeared. And I maintain that it was the teacher who was walking there. There was someone else from hereabouts who also met this person several times. I had been in that teacher's class some months, but then she died. When she went up the hill, she had been dead for many years. I recognized her by the clothes she wore (informant no. 1).

This was said to have taken place about 1920, a short while after the informant had acquired a bicycle in 1918. Much later, in the 1950s, he was watching a man he had hired harrowing his fields with a tractor.

> It was in the middle of the day. The fields were about 200 metres long and I stood roughly in the middle of them. When he turned with the tractor, a man came walking from the road above. He came from the spot where my great-grandfather was born. It was his land we were harrowing. The man wore a flannel skirt with vertical stripes. He was a tall man. I had never seen him anywhere but when he lay in bed. But my sister, who was five years older than I was (born 1899), said that my great-grandfather was always dressed like that when he walked in the fields. You couldn't see him as clearly as a normal fellow, it was a bit more misty. But I could see him easily. He came and put his hands on the tractor and looked at the man driving it. I thought it was someone who had come to get him to do something. The man who was driving for me was called Arne, so I asked him: 'Who're you going to work for now then?' 'No-one's been here and asked for anything', he said. At the time my great-grandfather had lain in his grave some 50 years (dead in 1910)" (cf. af Klintberg 1973, account of a free-church woman from Jämtland).

The informant declared that he didn't keep these experiences secret, but used to tell them to people in his neighbourhood on several occasions. Such things have been reported by other members of the SMF congregation in Klövedal, which indicates that supernatural experiences of this kind in the local congregation have not been regarded as incompatible with free-church ideology.

Evidence that such experiences were not unique in the revival movements is provided, for example, by the reports of a man (born 1892) who joined the Evangelical National Missionary Society (EFS) on the island of Åstol during the revival of 1914.

> What I have seen and heard can never be taken away from me. I saw a man at 2 o'clock at night down by the jetty. I walked past him and on to the next jetty. I looked up and then he was gone. His name was Carl and he was from the town of Motala but was married here on Åstol. This was in the 1920s a couple of years after he had drowned (informant no. 2).

The informants who have had less to relate about these supernatural things, and even shown them to be skeptical, have chiefly belonged to the youngest generation of interviewees. This need not be primarily attributed to increasing disbelief within the free-church congregations with the passing of time. It may just as much depend on the fact that old beliefs of this kind have more or less leveled out in society as a whole.

The encounter between free-church ideology and traditional folk beliefs

One can ask oneself whether the old beliefs in supernatural beings could fulfill a function even after people were converted. If this was the case, it would help to account for their living on, even if they deviated from, or even conflicted with, the message of the revivalists. Were there any special circumstances affecting these things precisely in coastal regions, in close proximity to the sea (cf. Löfgren 1981). For the old beliefs in supernatural beings to be accepted in the new free-church situation, it was necessary for a process of accommodation to take place. It was a question of fitting the earlier beliefs into the new ideology mediated by the revival preachers which signified a system of beliefs. Free-church members have, in the first place, referred to the fact that folk beliefs such as these did not conflict, but were in agreement with the message of the Bible. To justify their belief in ghosts, informants, including one of the leading Pentecostalists (born 1928) on the island on Åstol (informant no. 3), have pointed out that the Bible talks of ghosts. This also applies to younger members of the free churches, who have, admittedly, been more skeptical (see above). One man (born in 1954), who joined the Pentecostal Movement on Åstol in 1971, drew attention to the fact that "there's nothing in the Bible about gnomes and trolls, but there is something about spirits" (informant no. 4). It is also information about ghosts that completely dominates the accounts of supernatural beings given by free-church members. These people may have experienced their greatest need of such a belief when just on the border between life and death. It helped them to bridge the gulf between the living and the dead. This seems to have been particularly relevant in coastal regions where sudden death through shipwreck, in spite of technical advances and larger vessels, has been a closer reality than in inland areas (see chapter 6). It was therefore easier to understand that more evidence has been found for belief in ghosts among the free-church members in the costal areas of western Sweden than inland. Parallels may also be found in communities in northern Jutland where there have been revivalist movements. Members of the farming community there have even joked about the "superstition" associated with the sea that is found in the fishing communities. This has occurred in an area where both farming and fishing communities have belonged to the intra-church revivalist movement named the "Home Mission".

The existence of evil

The beliefs that exist are assigned their place in the dualistic world view rooted in the Bible. This means that there is an out-and-out struggle in the universe between Good and Evil. This is not a novel religious tenet, but was also embraced by the Reformed

Church in official circles. It is also found in records of customs and habits that relate to the time before the free-church revival (e.g. LUF M 2037 Jämtland, 13 333 Skåne). The supernatural beings were associated with the evil side of life, the Devil. It is this view that bishops and priests preached after the Reformation, but which, according to Gunnar Granberg, did not become firmly rooted among the people at large (Granberg 1939). Whether Granberg's view will bear scrutiny has not been investigated closely by folklorists of more recent times (cf. af Klintberg 1972: 111). The interview material collected from free-church milieux does not support his view. On the contrary, there is considerable evidence to support the fact that people associated these supernatural beings with the evil side of life.

This, in its turn, may have contributed to the retention and strengthening of the dualistic world view. Records in ethnological archives also inform us that the supernatural beings of the old folk beliefs were thought to be fallen angels (e.g. LUF M 872: 24 Småland, 1498: 3 Östergötland, cf. Strömbäck 1963, Stattin 1984). This indicates that the belief was older than the free-church revival. As an example of the conceptions held by free-church members I quote the information given by a man (born in 1913) who had gained a prominent position in the Pentecostal congregation on Åstol and had been a hymn-leader for a long time:

> There is a religious side: Jesus who suffered on Golgatha. Then there's the other side: sorcerers. We should not deny this, that there is an evil side as well. In the Old Testament there was Moses, the Servant of God and also sorcerers, who worked wonders just as Moses did. But they belong to the Fallen, the side of Satan. Here is the side of Satan, a Fallen angel. There are colossal powers. There are sorcerers. The Fallen can never bring people back to life again. Only Jesus can do that. The Fallen cannot give me life, but they can take life from me (informant no. 5).

In line with this is the information supplied by other free-church members that only "unbelievers", that is, non-free-church members, have been seen to "walk again". One informant (born 1904) in Klövedal recounted something he heard from one of his "believing" cousins:

> She could certainly see people sometimes. But she said she never saw people we call 'believers'. It was people we call 'unbelievers' who walked here. That's what she claimed, and I never saw any 'believer' either (informant no. 1).

When this view was assigned a place in the free-church system of beliefs, it could have the effect of retaining and strengthening the feeling of belonging to the free-

church congregation. If you turned away from your faith, you were threatened with becoming a ghost after death (cf. Honko 1962). This is no new belief, but should be compared with the fact that ghosts in earlier times were thought to be precisely those "unquiet spirits" who had offended against Christian norms (af Klintberg 1968, Pentikäinen 1969, Almquist 1984), evidence for which is often found in the interview material collected and the records of the folklore archives. The wails of ghosts were generally considered to be forewarnings of evil things to come.

The existence of good

Besides the adaptation of the old popular beliefs in supernatural beings to the free-church ideology, which allowed them to live on, one also meets a view associated with the good side of life, the side of God, in the interviews. Free-church members assert that they have heard or seen angels, sometimes Jesus Himself, and have also experienced a premonition that has been of assistance to them and which they believe has been sent by God. It has been claimed that Jesus was seen at periods of vigorous revival, like the one in the Pentecostal congregation on Åstol at the end of the 1940s (see chapter 6, cf. Hillerdal & Gustafsson 1973, af Klintberg 1973). Within the congregation, accounts of how fishermen, for example, at that time were able to see Jesus coming towards them on the sea, have been handed down. This played a part in getting people who had not already joined the Pentecostal revival to become converts and members of the congregation.

Information on how free-church members, now deceased, experienced their contacts with the divine world has mainly been passed down orally, especially to the younger generations of a particular family. One informant (born in 1919), member of the SMF on the island of Smögen, heard his grandfather, who was one of the founders of the mission congregation in the district, describe how he had experienced the voice of God. First he heard someone knocking outside the house. He went outside but did not see anyone. When the knocking was repeated three times, he said: "God, You must say what You want". Then he heard a voice which bade him visit a man who lay ill (informant no. 6). In certain cases, free-church members have noted down their experiences of such contacts. The father (1870-1955) of one informant (born 1904) in Klövedal had done this. This father told in his notes about his conversion in the 1890s. When, after this, he felt he was being reproached for the sins he had committed earlier, he believed that

> It was the Spirit of God that pointed out my sins. But then, one morning when I woke up (I know I was wide awake), I heard, just by my head, a clear voice say-

> ing: 'It's the devil that is tormenting you like this. Jesus only wants to forgive, forgive, forgive'. The third time the voice sounded a little far away, but distinct and clear (informant no. 1).

An elder (born 1920) in the Pentecostal congregation on Åstol heard his father (1893-1960), also an elder, talk about a premonition that he had experienced out at sea, amongst other things. This had saved the crew of a fishing boat and was understood to have been sent by God:

> Once Papa was homeward bound on the North Sea and there was a voice that said: 'Ludvig, go up on deck'. The voice said this once, twice. Papa went up and looked but didn't see anything. But the third time he looked out, he saw the breakers right by them. He had to shout to the man steering: 'Quick, swing the boat!' So it was a warning. If he hadn't heeded the warning, they wouldn't have come home (informant no. 7).

Insecurity at sea, in contrast to the situation inland, helps to explain why such premonitions could survive. They are remarkably reminiscent, namely of old beliefs before the revivals, about positive premonitions at sea. These were mediated via "warners", who warned of storms or other dangers (e.g. VFF 652: 12 Rönnäng, Bohuslän, cf. Schön 1983: 55f, 94f). It could be a mermaid that one informant (born in 1919) on Smögen, member of the SMF, heard about from elderly fishermen in the district when he was young (informant no. 6).

The informant (born in 1920) on Åstol also related that he himself had experienced "a voice from the Almighty" in about 1970. His sons (born in 1948 and 1950) were on a car journey, but did not return home on the night they had planned. They were supposed to start work early the following morning. The father grew anxious and began to pray. He then heard a voice, which said "Vänersborg". In the morning one of the sons telephoned and said they had had some trouble with the car and that they had been forced to stay overnight in the town of Vänersborg. "I knew that already", declared the informant. He thought of it as entirely possible, even quite natural, to obtain a tangible contact with the divine world. This kind of belief was found earlier in both his father and the father of the informant in Klövedal.

The informant in Klövedal has also described other contacts with the divine world. In particular, he heard or felt air movements made by angels passing (cf. Scharfe 1980, regarding German Pietists). It took place on several occasions at night when he was awakened and received a positive message: "It was an angel. The voice came from half a meter above the floor by my bed. It was sharp and light like that of a child of ten. 'You will get better'". The informant had been ill and the message came in a

difficult situation. "Another time there was something by my head. I could feel how it made a draught and flew along by the sofa where I was lying. So I think there was an angel indoors then". One of the visual experiences this informant had had was seeing writing in golden letters above his bed at night:

> There was a picture on the wall with golden letters, for when Our Lord writes, he does it in gold. It was shining gold, but I didn't understand what it said. There was an old voice that interpreted it in Swedish: 'They will take care of you when you are old'. There was light all round the picture, so I saw the letters. I don't know who is supposed to come. No one has come yet, but Our Lord doesn't lie (informant no. 1).

This took place many years before the interview. The informant lived as a bachelor with his unmarried sister (1899 -1980), which helps to explain why on reaching middle age, he began to feel anxious about who would look after him in his old age. Just in this situation, when he had prayed, he experienced a tangible contact with the divine world. Even the custom of going with a divining rod, which this man had practized, he interpreted as obtaining contact with "something that belongs to eternity". When the rod twists down towards the earth without the informant being able to stop it, it has something to do with the minerals in the soil "since the time when God created man".

One question concerns the extent to which beliefs of this kind about contacts with the divine world link up with old beliefs. Did they only appear in connection with the revivals? The records in the ethnological and folklore archives contain some information about people in earlier times who were not involved in revivals but who, in some way, experienced angels or Jesus and God. The reports of angels are the most numerous even though nothing was asked about them in questionnaires, apparently because folklore collectors in former days did not think that they were part of folk belief but belonged to the religious sphere. Belief in angels etc. may have been more widespread among people before the revivals than is evident from the number of records. In a report made in Råda outside Gothenburg in 1950, an informant said: "The angels have kept an especially good watch over me" (IFGH 5604: 1, cf. e.g. LUF M 2037, 6961). One informant (born in 1859) in Spekeröd, Bohuslän, related in 1928, that a woman in the district had talked with an angel (VFF 1655: 29). People could even hear "angelic songs" (VFF 606: 3 Värmland). Belief in angels obviously belonged to the popular world view before the revivals. By this world view, I mean everything that people believed in. The concept "folk belief" should not be so limited as to exclude those in the people's world of beliefs which belongs to the official church religion, that is, belief in God, Jesus, angels, etc (cf. Löfgren 1981: 82). Otto

Informant no. 1, from Klövedal, using a divining rod. Photo privately owned.

Blehr maintained that such things should be excluded (Blehr 1974), but his view has rightly been criticized by Magne Velure (Velure 1983). It is impossible to discuss the beliefs sanctioned by the church and those not sanctioned by the church as separate entities if one wishes to understand the system of beliefs that people have actually embraced.

The numerous accounts among members of the free churches of their being healed by faith and/or having "spoken in tongues", the latter in the Pentecostal Movement, provide further evidence of direct contacts with the Divine world. Several of those who have experienced faith healing say that they have felt this as concretely as if an electric current passed through their bodies. The informant in Klövedal said:

> I had a cough that wouldn't get better. I was up in the attic and then I was very depressed one day because I couldn't say a single word to a person without coughing. I went to the doctor several times. Then I prayed and the third time there was an answer. Just like a flash of lightning it went through my body and it burned a lot. The cough disappeared and never came back (informant no. 1).

One man (born in 1948), in the Pentecostal Movement on Åstol, had an equally tangible experience when in his twenties he was cured of a severe intestinal disease (informant no. 8). Belief in faith healing is linked with earlier popular healers. Popular

healers claimed in certain cases to have received their powers from God (Alver et al. 1980: 48, 88ff).

Speaking in tongues, on the other hand, evidently made its appearance in connection with the Pentecostal Movement. The informants have felt an external power flow through them. They were unable to control it, instead their voices became its instrument. They began to speak in a language that they themselves did not understand (cf. Holm 1976). This has taken place both at religious meetings, and when they were alone. One man (born in 1920), who joined the Pentecostal congregation on Åstol for the first time in 1939 and for the second time in 1949, related that

> it's a power that is really immense, which you can't understand. It is something divine. It comes over a person like the most delicious balm. You become fearless, so you don't need to feel at all shy or withdrawn to witness about Jesus. It comes suddenly. No one can know about it beforehand. You can lie there as empty as a sack and then, one, two, three. It's then the power is needed (informant no. 9).

This is not something that all Pentecostalists experience but they strive to achieve this inner power and close contact with God's world. One informant (born in 1913), who was re-admitted to the Pentecostal congregation on Åstol in 1949 described what he himself experienced at that time:

> I prayed to God that I would be allowed to say hallelujah with my heart. There is an enormous difference between saying hallelujah with your heart and saying it with your mouth. As I was praying to God for it I heard myself, strange though it may seem, that I lay and shouted hallelujah at the top of my voice. Is it me lying there and shouting hallelujah? It was an experience of unlimited power. It happened in Elim (the chapel). ... The day after, I was going to go up to shut a window in the attic. When I had shut the window I was about to kneel and pray to God. You did this over and over again. As I knelt down I began to speak in tongues. It was a tremendous thing. It came from down in my chest and just poured out, I spoke some language. It was in my house. There was a woman here calling on my wife. I was able to keep quiet enough to open the door and say I was going out for a while. They were sitting talking. All the way down to the jetty I only spoke in tongues. It was impossible to stop. It was an enormous experience. It helped me. I know it was something from God, something I didn't do on my own, but it just came (informant no. 11).

Summary

This chapter has attempted to throw light on what membership of a free-church congregation has meant with regard to old beliefs in supernatural beings, especially ghosts, and in premonition. Interviews with people who have been active in a free church over a long period show that beliefs of this kind did not just disappear as was formerly supposed. This applies particularly to belief in ghosts and premonition in coastal regions, which had insecurity at sea and, consequently, death, especially close at hand. Old beliefs in the supernatural that existed in the informants' milieu at the time of their conversion were able to survive by being incorporated into the free-church ideology that the preachers taught in their revival sermons. Here there are obvious parallels with what, according to earlier research, took place both at the introduction of Christianity and after the Reformation. It indicates how difficult it is to eradicate old beliefs that deviate from the message of the preachers when individuals adopt a new ideology, as happens rapidly and radically when religious conversions take place. Nor were beliefs about being in contact with the divine world established for the first time during revivals; they are largely linked up with old beliefs. It is hoped that this study will encourage similar investigations in other areas dominated by the free churches, especially those of a different character from the coastal districts.

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Abbreviations

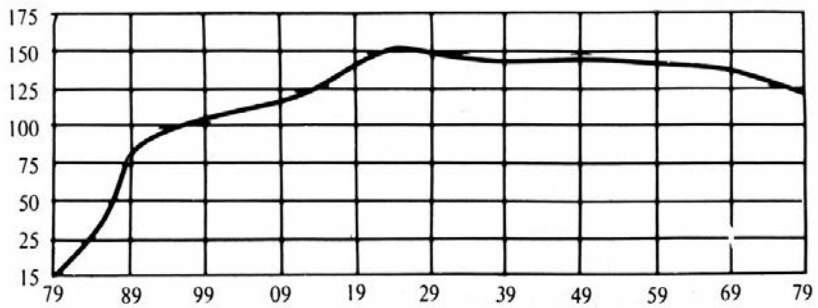
EFS	The Evangelical National Missionary Society.
IFGH	The Folklore Archives in the Dialect and Place-Name Archives, Gothenburg.
LUF M	Manuscript Archives in the Folklife Archives, Lund.
SMF	The Swedish Missionary Society.
VFF	Western Swedish Folklore Society's Archives in the Dialect and Place-Name Archives, Gothenburg.

9
Rumours and Breaches of Norms in a Mission Congregation

The mission congregations that were established in the Nordic countries during the latter half of the nineteenth century came to be characterized by the formation of fixed norms within the group. These norms governing the conduct of the members were formulated in more general terms in the regulations. In the congregations of the Swedish Mission Society, it was the responsibility of the board to interpret them and to see that they were observed. In cases of breaches of norms, the highest authority that applied sanctions was, according to the example in the New Testament, Matthew 18: 15-17, the meetings of the congregation. Such meetings were generally held once a month, and only members of the congregation were allowed to attend, in contrast to services and religious meetings, which were open to the general public. The minutes from these meetings of the board and congregation can therefore provide insight into how the congregation both tested those who wanted to be accepted as members and then scrutinized their daily life, as well as the discussions, inquiries and testimonies that had resulted from alleged breaches of the norms committed by individual members. The question concerned whether they should be considered as guilty, and in that case be subjected to the sanctions of the congregation, or whether they should receive redress if they repented and asked for forgiveness of their wrongdoings.

The aim of this chapter is to examine what steps the congregation took to uphold the norms within the group, taking a local mission congregation on the island of Smögen off the coast of Bohuslän, western Sweden, as the point of departure. I do not go into the question of how the norms came into existence, only how they were maintained by means of a fixed system of sanctions. During the late nineteenth century and the early twentieth century, fishing was the main means of livelihood, and this was coupled with a considerable export of fish and a certain amount of shipping. This congregation, which belongs to the Swedish Mission Society, was founded in 1879 by seventeen young fishermen who formed their own boat crew "Immanuel" to avoid fishing on Sundays. The congregation experienced strong revival movements in 1882 (54 new members), 1910 (28 new members) and 1919 (67 new members). The highest membership in the history of the congregation was recorded in 1927 (157). Since

then the membership has varied between 125 and 140. The total population of Smögen during the 1910's and 1920's, when the mission congregation reached its zenith, was almost 1500 (Hasslöf 1941).



Membership of Smögen's mission congregation from 1879 to 1979. From I Herrens tjänst 1979.

Adults and children belonging to the SMF congregation on the island of Smögen on the fishing boat "Two Brothers" about 1920. Photo privately owned.

The first regulations of the congregation were adopted in 1906 and partly revised in 1913 and 1926. The first permanent preacher was appointed in 1910 and from that

time on detailed minutes of discussions and decisions are found, and these form the basis of this chapter. A careful investigation was made of the cases in which hints or accusations had been made against individual members concerning breaches of the norms.

In the study of the Pentecostal congregation on the island of Åstol in western Sweden (see chapter 6) I found how people in the community outside the free-church congregation have used oral accounts about the members' alleged breaches of the norms as a weapon against the congregation in a situation of latent conflict. How accounts of this kind functioned within a religious group has, however, not been the subject of any previous research.

My aim is to analyse how the spreading of oral accounts or of rumours, to use the wording in the minutes, about other members within the group has functioned as a means of checking whether the norms governing the everyday life of the members were followed. What is interesting here is that oral accounts of this kind have left their mark on the contemporary sources, as represented by the minutes. Both those who had spread or heard the rumours and those who were accused of alleged breaches of the norms were called before the board and the congregational meeting. These came to function as a kind of court within the congregation. After a first hearing of the witnesses, in some cases two representatives were sent to seek out and talk with the person suspected of offending against the norms. They then presented a report before the accused was called before the congregation. If this person did not appear, he/she was more likely to be condemned than otherwise. Despite this, the minutes show that many did not come, or not before they had been repeatedly urged to appear. The regulations that were approved in January 26, 1913, stated that "each and every person who believes in Jesus Christ, and as far as the congregation can ascertain, promotes the aims of the congregation in word and deed, has the right to be admitted to the congregation" (section 3: 1). Anyone who joined the congregation had to answer the question: "Will you, through the mercy of God, lead a Christian life in accordance with the Gospels?" (regulation of the congregation section 1: 1). With regard to the members' ensuing life within the congregation, it is stated that they "should keep watch on each other in accordance with God's word, to correct, give redress, help and forgive each other, so as to arouse love and good deeds" (regulation of the congregation section 4). Individual members of the congregation may have taken an instruction of this kind as a pretext for reporting any offences against the norms by other members, which they had either witnessed themselves or heard of from other members within the congregation. It was thus an informer system came into existence. When these accounts or rumours became known to the leaders of the congregation, the thorough inquiries that the minutes provide evidence of were undertaken. The youth association of the mission congregation, founded in 1902 and to which the

majority of the members of the congregation belonged during the 1910's (for instance, 140 persons in 1919), drew up more detailed rules on February 21, 1917. They demanded "seemly and respectful conduct". Under no circumstances should swearing occur or be tolerated. Card-playing, consumption of intoxicating liquor or use of tobacco in any form were forbidden to the members of the section. When norms were violated, the congregation had the right to "exclude any members that they found unfit to remain within the congregation" (section 4: 1).

I should like to throw light on how these instructions and rules were applied during the congregation's period of ascendancy in the 1920's and 1930's by describing several concrete cases that were investigated by the leaders of the congregation. The examples chosen represent all categories of offence against the norms that were investigated during the period in question. In all cases, the inquiries were initiated by rumours that had gone around. The minutes name the accused, the witnesses, members of the board or other members of the congregation who spoke during the discussions. Here their names are replaced by the letters A, B, C etc. During a period of ascendancy when the membership expanded, there were special reasons for carefully safeguarding the norms and applying the sanctions that the regulations allowed when they were violated, even to the extent of excluding people from the congregation. It was in a situation of this kind that the sanctions could be really effective, in contrast to the situation in a period of decline when many members did not find it essential to remain in the congregation, but in many cases left it. Many of the minutes bear witness to the careful scrutiny of people who asked to be admitted to the congregation and youth association, exactly as in other congregations within the Swedish Mission Society. For instance, six youths wished to become members of the youth association on May 3, 1913. This was, however, refused on the grounds that they "were rather young and had only been converted recently and for this reason were not sufficiently known to the congregation to gain admittance". But later "when we have got to know them and understand that they really want to belong to the Lord, they might gain admittance".

Consumption of alcohol

As far as the categories of offences against the norms are concerned, we may start with the consumption of alcohol, which a member of the free church was not allowed to touch. When the men spent their working lives out at sea and in foreign ports, they were exposed to many temptations through their contacts with other people who lived according to other norms. It was difficult for the congregation to keep an eye on the men's conduct when they were away from the local milieu. The men were therefore

requested to get in touch with the congregation at regular intervals. At a meeting of the congregation on March 14, 1915, a member was consequently accused of "not getting in touch more than once during his latest visit to Göteborg in spite of being there a long time".

As an example, I now present a matter that was thoroughly discussed and investigated by the board from September 1922 to April 1923. A skipper, A, on a cargo boat was suspected of drunkenness in foreign ports and of having smuggled spirits to Iceland on his boat. At a meeting of the board on September 10, 1922, mention was made of a rumour that A "had smuggled spirits to Iceland both this year and last year, and even that he had consumed intoxicating liquor". On Iceland there was an alcohol prohibition at that time. One of the members of the board, B, was delegated to have a talk with A as soon as that person had come home to Smögen. At a new meeting on October 22, 1922, another board member related that A had admitted to him that he "had tasted strong drink". In his report to the board from a meeting with A, B found that the man was repentant, and on his advice the board suggested to the meeting of the congregation that A should be allowed to retain his membership.

The matter was raised again on March 18, 1923, "on account of some rumours that were spread by C (also a skipper)". Four male members of the congregation who were supposed to have heard these rumours through C were called before the board and had to give testimony, which was carefully noted in the minutes. One of the witnesses stated that C had said that A "consumed intoxicating liquor, and as evidence of this he had mentioned a telegram that he had received from him during his visit to Iceland in 1919, in which A had said that he was enjoying himself and also named many kinds of drinks that he had". After the witnesses had left the hall, the board decided that "for the good name of the congregation, it was necessary to hold an inquiry into whether there was any basis for the rumours that had been spread about". Two members of the board were to go and see A and "hear what he had to say about them". According to the report from these representatives, on March 28, 1923, A had informed them that he had helped C to smuggle spirits from the harbour in Fredrikshamn in Denmark to Iceland. He did not own any part of these goods – they belonged to C. The latter had also received the money for the spirits that had been sold. However, A admitted that he had acted wrongly. As there were conflicting reports from A and C, the board decided to summon both of them. A did not come to the meeting on April 11, 1923, but C did, on the other hand, and confessed that he and A had agreed to smuggle spirits to Iceland. They had bought herring with the money, but they had not made any profit out of this business. The board referred the question to the meeting of the congregation, at which both A and C were expelled.

Rumours also got abroad if alcohol was consumed by men in their home district. Minutes from the youth association, dated September 21, 1917, describe "rumours

that had been circulating for a long time" that D had consumed strong drink. A man reported that C had "drunk intoxicating liquor with D". A woman reported that E, an accountant, had seen D drinking. Another of the female members had seen him in an inebriated condition. Yet another of the men said he had heard from another member of the congregation, whose name is given, that D had consumed spirits. The pastor and a member of the board were delegated to visit D "to find out what the position was".

Women's relationships with outsiders

When rumours were spread about women in the congregation, they were accused in many cases of having an all too close relationship with men who were outsiders. Some were even suspected of living in sin with these men. One temptation for the women was to take contact with male summer visitors who came to the place. On September 21, 1917, a discussion was held in the youth association about "a rumour that had been going around, first, that F had been with and gone swimming with a German gentleman who had visited Smögen in the summer, second, that she had spent a night with him and left him at 4 in the morning by jumping out of a window". Two men were delegated to go and question her. At a later meeting F denied "what she had been accused of". The youth association accepted this answer and regretted that "such rumours could be spread about". There was a similar case in 1928 when a woman, G, was excluded from the fellowship of the congregation for an indefinite period. This occurred even though she had denied the charges of having had forbidden connections with a man that she had, according to "a rumour ... been seen to visit ... in the evenings" (board minutes April 15, 1928, and congregational meeting minutes July 22, 1928).

In other cases a member was able to admit to wrongdoing and even to send someone with a message to ask for forgiveness for having "fallen into the sins of the flesh". This is what a woman, H, did before a meeting of the congregation on January 14, 1912. The chairman found her confession before him "accompanied by much weeping" to be sincere. She was therefore forgiven and allowed to remain in the congregation. At the same time, the breach of the norms that had occurred provided an opportunity to warn others in the congregation against similar lapses that could not be tolerated.

> The members of the congregation, especially the young, should realize that to become intimately acquainted with the ungodly was highly unworthy of a Christian. ... The faithful should therefore feel it their duty and responsibility, when they see

any semblance of an intimate relationship between one of the faith, be it man or woman, and one who is ungodly, to warn the believer that he must not be ensnared by sin.

Visiting cinemas and theatres

One way of gaining these forbidden contacts with non-believers was by going to the cinema or the theatre, which were frowned on by the congregation. Minutes from a board meeting on November 19, 1921, relate that "one of the board members said that he had heard a rumour that the woman, I, often associates with non-believers and had possibly also been to the cinema and theatre". One of the board members was to call on her and question her.

Amusements such as the cinema, theatre and dancing, which conflicted with the norms of the mission congregation, took place within the temperance society, the Order of Good Templars, founded in about 1890. It let out its premises to, among other things, travelling cinema shows. For this reason, the mission congregation held a very critical view of this society, in spite of their having a common goal in fighting against the consumption of alcohol. This negative attitude was clearly expressed at an interrogation of a male member who had emigrated from Norway at the end of the 1880s and was a member of the Good Templars' board and had belonged to that society from the beginning. In fact, the members of the mission congregation had nothing to do with this temperance society. They worked, instead, within the Blue Ribbon Society, founded in 1892. This struggled against the consumption of alcohol in a truly Christian fashion. Prayers and Bible reading took place at all their meetings. In their regulations of 1892, it was stated that the society wished "to combat the sin of drunkenness in the name of Christianity and love of humanity". This fight was motivated by words from the Bible. For example, on October 14, 1906, the chairman read something out of The Gospel according to St. John, chapter 7, "especially emphasizing how necessary it is to drink of the water of life with Jesus Christ instead of drinking from the worthless wells of this world". No cinema, theatre or dancing was found here. Among the leaders of this society one also finds persons who had a prominent position in the mission congregation (minutes of Blue Ribbon Society).

J was called before a meeting of the congregation on March 12, 1911 "for the reason that the Good Templars have all kinds of amusements on their premises in the evenings, when we have prayer meetings, and thereby draw people whom we wished to come within earshot of the Gospel away from our meetings". J confessed that "he had indeed been to a cinematograph show, but did not consider that anything of an objectionable nature had taken place there". The pastor pointed out that the congrega-

tion could not appoint themselves as guardians of the Good Templar society, as it was a worldly one, but within the congregation people wondered how "brother J, as a member of God's congregation believing in Jesus Christ, could belong to and be a member of Smögen's Good Templar lodge". The competition for people's interest that the mission congregation experienced in relation to another society that was active in the same local district and had partly the same goal, the question of temperance, is clearly shown here. Many members spoke up at the meeting and asserted that "brother J's membership in the lodge and his behaviour in the same were to be condemned, and that it was even shameful that a member of God's congregation should belong to, as one of the brothers put it, this den of iniquity".

A new meeting of the congregation was announced for March 19. J did not appear personally on that occasion but sent a letter to the chairman of the congregation. He reported that he "knew that many of the congregation usually went to the theatre, and were, in that case, just as much at fault as he was". That was why he did not wish to appear before the congregation, who, he moreover believed "nursed a deadly national hatred of him". According to the minutes, the comments at the meeting indicated that many members did not have full confidence in J. The congregation also decided, unanimously, that he should not be admitted to the fellowship of the congregation until further notice. At the next meeting of the congregation on April 10, 1911, to which J was called, he made an appearance. He was urged "in most serious terms" to leave the board of the Good Templar society, as "the Good Book tells us not to yoke ourselves together with unbelievers" (2 Corinthians 6: 14) and in view of the fact that "various amusements are allowed, even during the time God's children are gathered together for revival meetings, and have thus drawn people away from them". J declared that, during the discussions that were held, he had become convinced of the sinfulness of belonging to that board, something that he had not realized before. He therefore asked the congregation for forgiveness and promised to leave the board of the temperance society. He then received redress from the congregation, so that he regained admittance to the fellowship of the congregation. The Good Templar society ceased to exist in about 1920, and its premises were let regularly for cinema shows until the mission congregation acquired them in 1924. According to the minutes of the congregation meeting of April 27, 1924, the aim of the purchase was "to put an end to the disturbing amusements that were offered there".

Womens's apparel and hair-styles

Rumours may be said to be the manifestation of an informer system within the congregation, in which an eye was kept on one another's conduct by reporting suspected

or obvious breaches of the norms. Apart from the rumours, an informer system of this kind, which helped to uphold the norms, was also able to manifest itself in another way. A member of the mission congregation could inform the leaders direct if a breach of the norms occurred, either openly or by means of an anonymous letter. Many sets of minutes state that the chairman of the board or the pastor had received information from this or that member about someone else's wrongdoings. An anonymous message that the chairman of the board received in March, 1912, may serve as an example. It was pointed out there that several young women deviated from the norms of the congregation in their apparel and hair-style (minutes of the congregational meeting, March 17, 1912). The chairman read out the letter and related how he himself "had heard and seen with pain . . . that many of our faithful sisters dress and curl their hair in a manner that brings dishonour to the cause of the Lord". Many of the other male members in the congregation also expressed themselves in a similar fashion. One of them asserted that "the way our sisters behave with their bare arms and low-cut blouses and their over-elaborate hairstyles was no less than a disgrace to the Lord's cause". Another, "after a meeting at which the song society had performed, had heard strong complaints over their mode of dressing". During the discussions, the question arose as to what view should be taken of an anonymous charge of this kind about breaches against the norms. Even if one member thought it was "less suitable", the conclusion drawn was unanimous that "this letter, even though it was anonymous, nevertheless pointed to the Word of the Lord, and for that reason it would be a source of joy if such letters came often".

A woman then confessed that she had written the letter, as she had "grieved over her sisters' behaviour" and had herself "committed the same fault" earlier. God had, however, "opened her eyes and saved her from this". Shortly afterwards, another woman said that she had helped to write the letter. She thought that "the women's mode of dress could stand in the way of the success of the Lord's cause". This shows that women informed on women, as men informed on men, especially with regard to the consumption of alcohol in other ports (see above). The meeting of the congregation supported the ideas about the women's apparel that were expressed in the letter, and a decision was taken to "let our young sisters in the youth association know of the views of the congregation in this matter".

Disagreements between members

Another category of breaches against the norms in the everyday life of the members, both men and women, concerns disagreement between members of the same family or persons from different families. To intervene in and attempt to solve such quarrels

at the personal level was in line with Section 4 in the regulations of the congregation, which urged members to forgive one another (see above). On March 12, 1924, a man, K, and his children were called before the board because of "the tense situation that appeared to exist" between them. The father "declared himself to have been very unhappy about the calling of this meeting, as he was not aware that he had done his children an injury". One of the daughters pointed out that she had tried to help her father after her mother's death, but that on one occasion he had told her that she could go. This had made her very unhappy. This led to a long discussion and the chairman appealed to the persons concerned to make up their quarrel amicably, either privately or before the board. Another woman, L, had not been willing to visit her mother, even when the latter was ill. The pastor and the chairman were delegated to seek her out and settle the matter (board meeting December 27, 1932).

Conflicts between members of different families that were dealt with by the congregation were generally of an economic nature. At the meetings of the congregation in March and April, 1908, a quarrel between two fishermen, M and N, was investigated. They had fallen out in connection with the sale of a fishing boat. A congregational meeting on March 8, 1908, laid the blame on M. Two representatives were chosen to visit him. If he was not willing to listen, he was to be expelled from the congregation. M appeared before the next meeting on April 12, 1908, and declared his innocence. That was why he could not go to N and request a settlement, as the congregation desired. He was, however, given two weeks to think it over. At an extra meeting of the congregation on April 26, 1908, both men were present and each gave their version of the reason for the quarrel. Even though the congregation was of the opinion that N had the right to keep the whole of the profit from the sale of the boat, they nevertheless asked him "for the Lord's sake and for the sake of love and his own peace of mind", that is, on religious-ethical grounds and not for the sake of justice, to give part of the profit to M. At that point M rose and asked the congregation and N for forgiveness. This was granted and he was allowed to remain in the congregation. However, his wife was found to have spoken "in a very un-Christian manner" of N. In spite of being requested to do so, she had not appeared before two meetings of the congregation. The chairman was to seek her out and inform her that if she was unwilling "to confess this un-Christian conduct", she would be expelled from the congregation.

Another quarrel that had an economic background, and which was scrutinized very thoroughly, concerned a disagreement between an employer, a fish exporter and cantor in the congregation, 0, and his employee, a clerk, P. The exporter had discovered a deficit in the accounts and considered that the clerk was guilty of embezzlement. Both parties were called to a board meeting on May 14, 1911, and they were urged to "give a truthful [underlined in the minutes] account of the event, one at a

time". The clerk made the excuse that he had taken out his wages in advance and also some traveling expenses without permission from the exporter. He had been allowed to do this at a previous place of employment in Hälsingland. He admitted, however, that he "had done it out of folly" and asked the congregation for forgiveness. At the same time, he pointed out that after he had got his position in 1910 had heard "bad rumours about 0 and his business, but I didn't say anything about them to him". P also became "witness to stormy scenes at the office and heard how people were grossly slandered there. Both this and the other affected me painfully". Only a few days before had the clerk got to know about "the rumours that had been circulating" about him, and he protested "against them, as having no basis. I don't judge a man before I've met him". The reason for his not having been to the meetings of the congregation lately was, among other things, that he "had heard that the friends would not go to the meetings when he, the forger, was there".

The fish exporter gave another picture of the clerk's conduct at the office. As an example of this, he alleged that after a policeman had called at the office in the course of duty, the clerk had said: "A scoundrel like that deserves a kick in the pants". The exporter had then cautioned him not to use such language. One of the other employees at the office had said that "he had often had to put on his cap and go out of the office, as he couldn't stand hearing P talk badly of various people". The exporter continued to assert that the clerk was guilty of embezzlement, even though he, in his capacity as employer, was also to blame. He had, namely, not checked up on the clerk's work but given him far too free a hand with the cash. He was therefore willing to forgive P. At the same time, he was surprised at the rumours about himself and requested that the clerk should give the names of the persons who had told him about them. Finally, the pastor exhorted the two parties to forgive each other, and so they did, shaking hands in front of the congregation. They were then allowed to continue as members. After this session, which lasted four hours, a prayer meeting was held in rejoicing over the reconciliation of the two members of the congregation. This matter illustrates that the leaders in the congregation, in this case a cantor, and those with the best economic position in the district – the fish exporters were called gentlemen because of their economic predominance – were investigated just as thoroughly as members on the periphery and those of lower social and economic status, such as the clerk. This means that the goal of preserving the norms was regarded as so important that it penetrated both the social hierarchy in the local community and the spiritual hierarchy in the congregation. No strong man in a leading position was able to control the formation of norms or the way they were observed.

Closed discussions for outsiders

The exhaustive discussions about the daily life of the individual members and the relations between them served to reinforce the unity and harmony within the congregation, even though, to an onlooker, the informer system may appear to be contrary to the social fellowship and feeling of community within the group. The anonymous messages indicate that at least some of the members experienced an internal conflict between the social fellowship and the exposure of breaches of the norms by other members of the group. Observance of the norms was essential for unity to be achieved. At the same time, the sharp boundaries that were aspired to in relation to the world around them were drawn. One stage in the preservation of norms was that their violation led to the application of sanctions, as a warning to both the culprit and others in the congregation. The problem facing the leaders of the congregation was, however, to obtain a system of control that enabled the breaches of norms to be discovered. The rumours that arose and circulated among the members were able to fulfil a function in this connection. It was then essential to conduct a thorough inquiry into the statements being passed from mouth to mouth. The purpose of the inquiries was to ensure that members remained in the congregation.

Acquittal was possible either if the accused was found innocent or if he/she confessed the wrongdoings and asked for forgiveness. To expel members was a last resort if the guilty party did not show repentance. No one who repented and begged for forgiveness was expelled. On that score, the congregation showed leniency in their judgment, which indicates that the system of control largely served to retain members in the congregation. On the other hand, it sometimes happened that a person was deemed guilty despite his/her denial (see above, a case from 1928). Some of those who admitted wrongdoing asked to resign of their own accord.

At the same time, it was essential that the inquiries, testimonies and discussions at the meetings about breaches of the norms should be kept secret from outsiders. Any information about them might harm the reputation of the congregation in the community and diminish the possibilities of recruiting new members from outside. At a meeting of the congregation on March 19, 1911, it was regretted that “one of the members of the congregation, although a special promise of secrecy had been requested, had let the children of the world know about” the proceedings in connection with J and the society of the Good Templars (see above). It was clear from the discussions that “many of the brothers are pained by the fact that not all of the members of the congregation keep silent about what takes place at our meetings but let the godless know about the same and thereby cause unpleasantness, especially for those who voice their opinions in certain questions”. Many suggestions were put forward for “trying to put an end to this sorry state of affairs”. It remained difficult, however,

to keep the proceedings at the meetings of the congregation secret, for "owing to circumstances that have occurred" one such meeting on June 10, 1923, decided to "issue a statement that it is un-Christian and unworthy of a member of the congregation to reveal and discuss what goes on at private meetings, as the reputation of the congregation thereby suffers harm".

Translation: Gillian Thylander.

Unpublished sources

Smögen
- Blue Ribbon society
  - Minutes
- Mission Congregation
  - Minutes

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10
Mortal Life and Eternity. Conceptions in Different Generations of a Local Religious Movement compared with a Labour Education Movement

Continuity versus changes

During the 1980s, and accompanied by students of ethnology from the University of Lund, I conducted fieldwork among members of a religious movement called Bibeltrogna vänner (BV) (Faithful Friends of the Bible) in Örkelljunga in Skåne. Örkelljunga lies in a forested district where there are a number of relatively small wood-processing companies. Religious revival movements, and in particular the BV, have retained a significant position there since early in the 1900s and up to the present day. The BV's norms and viewpoints have had influence even outside the group itself, such as in the field of politics, for example. The BV is an associative organization that arose within the Swedish church in the early 1900s. Its purpose was to express opposition to the liberal theology then prevalent at the university and within the church itself. The BV wished instead to give preference to biblically viable doctrinal beliefs.

The studies carried out in Örkelljunga have formed a part of similar studies of religious movements in Scandinavia. As source material we have had access to the records of the BV Youth Association, dating from the early 1900s and on, in addition to previously collected data. We have also conducted interviews with three generations of association members, especially with women (cf. Åström 1986). This has been due to a special focus on the upbringing of children and the establishment of inter-generational norms. Emphasis in all three generations has therefore been placed on the period of youth. Members of the oldest generation were over 60 years of age, the middle generation was aged between 35 and 50, while the youngest generation was between 15 and 25 years of age.

In this chapter I will explain the viewpoints that members of the different youth generations have favoured in connection with overall subjects having to do with mortal life, such as education, women's work in and outside the home, and benign and

malignant powers. The question of belief in an eternal life after death is also of interest. Will one find obvious differences or, instead, constancy between the generations and, if so, why? What effect has nurture had at different times? Can it also have resulted in counter-reactions in the younger generation? As a contrast to the BV, we also interviewed several women in three generations who had been active in the labour education movement, Arbetarnas bildningsförbund (ABF). It was thought that their political ideology based on social democracy would give them entirely different opinions about child-rearing and other vital issues.

Young people were in the forefront of those who joined the growing revival movement in the early 1900s in Örkelljunga when revivalist preachers came to the district to spread their messages. A man born in 1881 remembered from his youth that

> Revivalists arrived in town along with several young boys, and they started talking about God. ... I remember some young people singing songs as they walked the streets of Örkelljunga, making a lot of other people mad at them (Church History Archives, Lund, answer no. 4928 to questionnaire 1).

Members belonging to the BV Youth Association in 1942 in front of the BV house. Photo belonging to BV, Örkelljunga.

At about this time there were instances of parents becoming irritated with their children because they joined a new revival movement, and even attempting to get them to renounce this new faith. The records from the BV's earliest phase contain words

of warning aimed at young people against allowing their parents to persuade them to leave the new faith. This was, in other words, a new ideology that grew up in the early 1900s and that later survived for several generations. Preaching in the BV has always emphasized the importance of a religious conversion taking place in one's youth. As was noted with the aim of instruction at a meeting of the youth association on 26 August 1908,

> the sad fact of how seldom we experience older people being really moved to acknowledge the truth. ... Young people's hearts are more easily bent in obedience to faith in their early years than at more advanced ages.

Families belonging to the BV have always had many children, from its very start in the early 1900s and continuing on in time. This has partly been induced by the teachings of the Old Testament concerning children as being a gift from God. A woman born in 1965 related that "in my opinion, children are a gift from God, and that one does not get children, but instead receives them". We have also encountered the idea that the continued existence of the BV will be secured as long as its members have many children who can further the association's ideology. This is in keeping with the emphasis placed on the vital role of the family.

With regard to fundamental issues in life, one finds that the BV have a dualistic perception marked by a continuous struggle between the forces of good and evil in mortal life, which is to say, between God and the devil. A conception of this kind is particularly noticeable when comparisons are made between the views held by women belonging to the BV and those who had worked actively in the ABF. For these latter, the concept of the future concerned that of mortal life, while the future for the BV-women just as strongly had to do with the eternal life after death. The ABF women were concerned about the future of the earth both for themselves and their children. This related especially to environmental hazards and to worries about their often precarious personal economy, caused by the fact that these women informants often were divorced from their children's fathers. The BV women, on the other hand, had usually married early and lived in lifelong marriages. They felt greater security in their mortal life. The unease they might experience was instead primarily concerned with the issue of whether one would go to Heaven or hell after death. If security was a key word for the BV women, the women who were active ABF members primarily sought freedom – the freedom to choose their education and occupations without interference from the previous generation, which is to say, from their own mothers. During interviews with women from the three generations we discovered that the ABF women generally chose other occupations than their mothers and even reacted against their opinions. The daughters' actions actually were in keeping with

the mothers' insistence that their daughters should be free and independent. A woman born in 1920, who was an active member of the ABF, told of her two daughters, saying that "they are little rebels, both of them, just as I wanted them to be", in other words – independent. Women born in the 1920s have been surprised by several of the younger women not having acquired any real occupational training despite the fact that their mothers wanted them to and society gave them economical opportunities to do so. Several women in the younger generation have instead, to their mothers' disappointment, chosen to be housewives while their children were small. This may be considered a counter-reaction by the younger mothers against the fact that the previous generation of women had left their children during the day in order to be gainfully employed. Another woman born in the 1920s told us that her daughters had said while they were growing up: "When we are grown up, we are going to have many children, but we're not going to do what you did. We're never going to leave them". Their mother said: "I have been ashamed of my daughters for being housewives. It's only now that they have begun to lift their heads and get an education".

Among the BV women there is instead a much greater continuity between the generations regarding ideas of education, division of work in the home between men and women, and choice of occupation. This is also a result of the mothers' careful child-raising in which they imprint the same opinions in their daughters that they themselves have preferred. Freedom to develop their own ideology and way of life has never been a goal, but there has instead been an effort to achieve uniformity between the generations. The most important goal for these women has been to work in the home and for their families. The duty of bearing several children and raising them to honour a definite ideology has been fundamental. Woman has been assigned the main responsibility for child-rearing, an opinion that has survived among the generations since the early 1900s and on. In this way continuity has been especially guaranteed by women. If they were to have the opportunity to use their efforts on child-rearing, they had to stay at home with their children as much as possible. Outside employment has been seen as being an inconvenient element. It has only been considered acceptable when the children were old enough to no longer need their mothers at home.

Continuity among the generations in the BV families is marked not only by disinterest in higher education and an emphasis on women's vital role in home-based child care. Opinions about the dualism of mortal life and eternal life after death can also be met in similar conceptions over time. This is shown in the records of the youth association during the early 1900s and, in later years, in both the records and in interviews with the young people. Mortal life here on earth is seen as being a daily struggle against the powers of the devil. A human being can triumph in this struggle if she seeks strength from God through her prayers and readings and by obeying the

word of God in the Bible. In records dated 21 March 1905 about the "voyage across the sea of life", mention is made of "the many who have suffered shipwreck". That is why it is important to remain alert and active in the difficult and dangerous struggle. One might otherwise fall into the devil's clutches. At a youth meeting held on 11 September 1904, this was expressed as "the soul's enemy's many ties with which he captures and binds his doomed slaves. He binds some with heavy iron chains and some with silken cords". The records have been written by the young people themselves and reproduce the discussions that have taken place within the group. Beliefs similar to those in 1904 are shown in quite unchanged form in the youth group records from later years. Records made on 11 March 1981 stated that

> we are in hostile territory as long as we live on earth. Our souls' enemy is a clever tactician. He advances at times like a roaring lion and at times like an angel of light.

Young people were considered to be especially vulnerable to the devil's attack. By winning influence over people while they are young this evil power will be able to rule over the whole of their mortal lives and also have power over them after death. As the following noted at a youth meeting held on 15 December 1907,

> There is a continuous contest for the young. God would dearly love to rule their hearts, but the devil tries in every way to pull them away from God.

A view of this kind gave both parents and the leadership of the BV grounds to emphasize the importance of vigilance among the young for the way they live. Behaviour that is not in keeping with the ideology and the norms is dangerous both for this life on earth and the coming life in eternity. Emphasis is also placed on the fact that even young people's lives can end suddenly. At a youth meeting held on 19 June 1904, it was pointed out:

> You are given notice to depart out of time and into eternity, but you cannot know the day, the hour or the minute of that departure. What kind of life have you been leading? You are mere vapour, visible for a short time, but quickly disappearing.

When facing death it was important to be on the right side, that is to say on God's side, in the struggle. In life, which is short and uncertain, there are two roads to follow. They lead to completely different existences, either one of joy with God or one of misery with the devil. This dualism concerns, in other words, a struggle during earthly life between two mighty powers that after death and the last judgment on that last

day, will result in a division into two different existences, either in a mild heaven or an evil hell.

The division between life and death has been regarded as being very essential. As was expressed at a youth meeting on 16 August 1908,

> it is too late to repent after death and after this mortal life our position cannot be changed. We will also have to render an account of how we used this sacred period of grace.

Hell is seen to be as much of a reality as heaven. It is the worst that a human can experience. At a youth meeting held on 15 March 1908, the following was noted: "In order to descend into hell we must have been trained by the devil. ... Just as certainly as there is a realm of glory, there is also a hell". The style of life here on earth is, in other words, the basis for where each person comes after death. She chooses which of the two roads, God's or the devil's, that she will travel. As a woman born in 1968 said: "It's all up to me, then, up to each person, if I choose to give myself to God. ... I have my own free will".

It has been considered to be dangerous to devote too much interest to the future in this life, such as to what might happen in politics. At a youth meeting on 19 January 1972, it was noted, in a tone of warning, that people strive to get more leisure time. They want to work fewer hours, but that "is far too short-sighted a program. One forgets what is most important ... eternity". A similar statement was made in the youth association on 4 March 1906:

> Socialists see the future as being very bright, but that is only a phantom, since God's word says; 'The future of the ungodly will be cut off'.

Interest in material values is seen as competing with an interest in what will happen after death or as compensating for the lack of a perspective of eternity in this life. According to a man who was born in 1965 and was an active member of the BV, non-Christian people "live about 60 or 70 years and then it all ends. That means that this life must be lived as intensely as possible. One must own as many things as possible. But for us Christians, riches and getting things are a side issue. We have a different kind of wealth", which is to say the hope of coming to heaven. And here hell may be considered to be an equally serious possibility: "If one does not believe in heaven, then one cannot believe in hell. One must either believe in both or in neither".

How is it possible that this kind of continuity concerning issues of vital importance can be met with among the BV youth of different generations in the 1900s? The very decisive upbringing given in the home and in public by the older people to

the younger ones has obviously been very successful. How has this been possible even in our own day when young people are likely to be confronted by many other impressions from the outer world? I will attempt to explain here those various factors which have had importance.

One can first examine the economical and social function. The BV families have lived very stationary lives over a long period of time. There has been little migration. Small family firms in the wood-processing industry have allowed young people to find gainful employment in the same companies as their parents, and not be forced to move to larger cities. They have had a secure economy, in contrast to that of the ABF women. Women belonging to the BV have not needed to leave their duties in the home in order to seek gainful employment. This has allowed them to realize the ideal of according priority to work in the home and thus also of devoting much of their time to their children.

Ever since the early 1900s, the BV has maintained the Sunday school as a means by which the importance of faith can be emphasized among their children. This is a precondition for the transference of their ideology to the next generation. On 23 September 1906, it was noted in the youth association records that "we must consider the great value of children for God". Many have received their "first serious impressions in the Sunday school, impressions that could not be weakened even by the most lively and vicious service of sin".

Another means by which the possibilities for the survival of the ideology can be strengthened among the coming generations are the efforts in the BV to isolate itself and to have clearly marked boundaries in relation to their surroundings. The viewpoints and norms represented there can be considered as prone to destroy those that must be safeguarded among their own young people. It has, for example, been seen as being completely improper that young people from BV families marry anyone from outside their own association. A woman born in 1954 related that in her home she had been warned against being friendly with young people whose families were not active BV members. In the association itself alarming tales have been told about some of their own young people who have gone out with an outsider. A woman born in 1968 told openly about the problems she had encountered in breaking with the expectations of the group, while still attempting to retain their religious ideology and norms:

> I was going out with a guy a while back who wasn't a Christian and that was hard. It just didn't work out, it couldn't work out, no way. He somehow had his interests and I had mine. It all ended up with him being at a party, dead drunk, while I was at a meeting praising the Lord. And somehow that just told me that we couldn't keep on like this.

Such efforts in establishing boundaries in opposition to one's surroundings is also the basis for a child-rearing strategy emphasizing not only the association Sunday school, but also its place in the home and management by the women. It is not to be a matter for a public nursery school where the children can meet far too many negative outside impressions. This will make the child insecure, while an upbringing in the home will lead them to be secure. Even girls from the youngest generation of the 1980s have said that they would never send their children to a nursery school in the future. A disquieting element for the BV has been that a new secularized school system has grown up in Sweden during the last decades. It is religiously neutral and furthers a different, more liberal view of sexual relations than that found within the BV. A counter-reaction against this development in the school sector was the school having a Christian emphasis that was established in Örkelljunga in the 1970s and attended by several children from BV families.

In other matters too, the BV have chosen to isolate young people from the society surrounding them in order to counteract possible meetings and influence by other values. Several families in the BV have also played leading roles in the community's political bodies. In this way they have successfully managed to hinder the establishment of a young people's centre with a dance floor, something that other groups, such as the active members of the ABF, have worked for during the past decades. A Christian youth centre was instead built in the 1980s. The coming of the Christian centre has lessened the opportunities for the BV young people to be influenced in an undesirable way by non-Christian surroundings. Those young people outside the BV who have wanted to dance have had to travel in a chartered coach at weekends to a larger town a few miles away. Among the BV families we discovered a very obvious and negative narrative tradition about the young people's wild behaviour in the coach and on the dance floor. Both drunkenness and fist fights were supposed to have taken place. These narratives have helped to discourage their own young people from participating in such events.

Another way of preventing their young people from receiving negative impressions from the world at large has been that parents in BV families have not allowed their children to watch television programs or listen to radio programs seen as conflicting with the ideology and the norms that they prefer. Several families have therefore completely refrained from purchasing a television set. In addition to the older women, young teenage girls have also said during the 1980s that they chose the television programs they watched very carefully. Those that were seen as conflicting with the ideology and norms they had learned were voluntarily renounced. When young people from BV families have secretly read youth literature having elements of sexuality that conflicted with BV norms, they later decided, according to their own statements, that these were uninteresting, and had not repeated this activity. The im-

pact of their upbringing has obviously been so strong that it has aided in overcoming the temptation to break with the norms that they had been brought up to adhere to.

The BV has also hired a youth pastor who has been able to present a message precisely aimed at young people at school and at youth rallies. This has counteracted any latent dissatisfaction among the young people and their wishes for changes in the forms of preaching. A woman born in 1964 stated with satisfaction that "the youth pastor speaks a language that the young people understand". A man born in 1969 said that "the older people have been raised to have things more strict, but we young folks want something milder and freer". A discussion has gone on about the 1981-translation of the New Testament, which the young people wanted to use because it was seen to have a more easily understood language. The older people have instead been doubtful, thinking that this translation contains a large number of errors. "It's too bad that they think that", as one of the young people comments.

Young people from BV homes have for the most part become members of the youth association. There has, however, been almost no recruitment from families in which the parents are not members of the BV. The deliberate choice of isolation from the surrounding area must have contributed to this. Only 2 of 40 members in the youth association of 1986 came from families who were not connected with the BV. Seen against this background one can understand the criticism raised during the 1980s by some of the young people about how the previous generation had isolated itself too completely and had not worked actively to get outsiders to come to the meetings. This is the same tendency that one finds in the early 1900s in Örkelljunga and to which I have found parallels in other towns where we have conducted fieldwork, namely that young people are in the forefront of revivals. They are the most ideologically conscious in reacting against the rigidity of the previous generation. The latter have instead chosen different ways of preserving the established form of conduct in life during the 1970s and 1980s in Örkelljunga. They have taken steps to ensure that their own young people will continue to believe and live as has been customary during earlier decades. They have been successful with regard to the substance of the message, but have been met with considerable efforts for renewal by the young people in issues about the outer forms of their activities.

More exactly, a greater ideological consciousness has arisen among the young people when compared to the previous generation. This can lead to changes in forms of activity that have remained quite unchanged ever since the establishment of the BV during the great revival of the early 1900s. Rigid outer forms along with the association's self-chosen isolation can have hindered new recruitment even among families who belong to the group itself.

Summary

This chapter has shown that both mortal life and eternity comprise a continuum for a religious group. Mortal life gains its meaning in the perspective of eternity. This places an immense responsibility on how people conduct their lives during their mortal existence. The non-worldly perspective has emerged clearly as a contrast to the opinions of women who have been active members of the labour education association, the ABF. These latter women have primarily chosen a worldly perspective on life. The freedom of being able to form their own lives without interference from previous generations has been seen as fundamental. The future is concerned with life on earth, and they have chosen to influence this through political actions, such as by counteracting social injustice and environmental destruction as well as by working for economic equality. The religious group has, on the contrary, considered security within the family as being most fundamental to their earthly life.

This study has also indicated the intensity of an emphasis on a viewpoint within a religious group. The parent generation has persistently wished to confirm the same ideology and norms in the younger generation that they themselves have preferred. Stability has thus become a palpable element both as an ideal and as praxis. I have also discussed why the upbringing of children has been so successful, starting with the generation among whom the revival arose in the early 1900s and continuing to the present day. One must be aware of the economic and social situation that has been constant and secure. Family life has been characterized by the priority placed on women working in the home. This has given them more time to devote to their children's upbringing than if they had had gainful employment outside the home. The emphasis on participation in the home has been strengthened by that which has taken place in public in the Sunday school. The religious group has had several strategies that enable them to keep their own young people from making contacts with their non-religious surroundings and thus from receiving impulses leading in an unwelcome direction. They have instead striven to create their own alternative activities for the young people, as for example in their school and at a youth centre. The extreme influence that has been applied between the generations in the religious group has appeared as being very obvious when compared to three generations of women linked to the labour movement. These women have recommended freedom in the upbringing of their own young people, and this has led to striking differences between the generations, for example concerning the issue of whether the woman should give preference to gainful employment or work in the home. The change in both point of view and style of life between the generations appears quite obvious in comparison to the continuity that we find in the religious group. It is on the local level that we can approach people's conceptions and their changes over time as closely as has been

possible in this study. We also find similarities when we compare with the results that have been arrived at concerning the Pentecostal Movement in Åstol (see chapter 6), the Free Friends in Søgne (see chapter 7) and local youth associations in recent times within Home Mission in Denmark (Christensen 2010).

The results that have been presented in these different local studies should be capable of being confirmed or not in other areas of Europe where religious minorities have been prominent.

Translation: Jean Aase

Unprinted sources

Lund
- Church History Archives
  - Records
- Folk-life Archives (LUFM)
  - Records

Örkelljunga
- Faithful Friends of the Bible (BV)
  - Minutes
  - Photos

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